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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XXIII

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LUSAKA, NORTHERN RHODESIA

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To provide accurate scientific information on the social life of man for Governments and other persons working with human beings in this area.

To disseminate this accurate information as widely as possible to the public.

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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XXIII

Editor
H. A. FOSBROOKE

Editorial Board
ELIZABETH COLSON, MAX GLUCKMAN
J. CLYDE MITCHELL

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The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal

Human Problems in British Central Africa

Editorial Board

Dr. Elizabeth Colson, Professor Max Gluckman,
Professor J. Clyde Mitchell

Co-ordinating Editor: The Director of the Institute

This Journal, published half-yearly in March and September, aims to define simply, but with scientific accuracy, the social problems facing man in Central Africa, to record what is known of such problems and to report on research being undertaken and required in the future.

Contributions are not confined to research by the Institute's past and present staff: articles and notes are welcome from all those working in the field covered, or those engaged on similar problems elsewhere whose findings are applicable to the Central African field.

The standard length of articles is in the region of 10,000 words, but longer or shorter articles will be considered from time to time. Articles should be accompanied by summaries of 100–200 words.

Proofs are not sent to contributors outside the U.K. unless tabular work or other special reasons make it desirable that an author should proof-read his own article. If this is required it should be mentioned when the article is submitted.

Contributors receive two copies of the Journal concerned and 25 offprints of their article, *gratis*.

Typescripts for consideration, and books for review, if emanating from the United Kingdom, should be sent to Professor Max Gluckman, Department of Social Anthropology, Dover Street, Manchester 13; those from other sources to the Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Box 900, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

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Contents of recent issues of the Journal

Contents No. 20

Max Gluckman : *Social Anthropology in Central Africa.*

Ian Cunnisón : *Perpetual Kinship : A Political Institution of the Luapula Peoples*

L. H. Gann : *Archives and the Study of Society.*

Review : *As Men are Everywhere Else.* An appreciation of Frank Debenham's *The Way to Ilala : David Livingstone's Pilgrimage*, and J. Simmons's *Livingstone and Africa* (Max Gluckman).

Additions to the Library, January to June 1955.

Contents No. 21

L. P. Mair : *Representative Local Government as a Problem in Social Change.*

P. M. Worsley : *Millenarian Movements in Melanesia.*

P. H. Gulliver : *Nyakyusa Labour Migration.*

L. Silberman : *The Problem of Housing in Mauritius.*

Reviews : *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, Max Gluckman (A. Arthur Schiller). *L'ancien Congo d'après les Archives Romaines (1518–1640)*, Mgr. J. Cuvelin and l'abbé L. Jadin (I. Cunnison). *Migrant Labour in the Gold Coast*, R. B. Davison (W. Watson). *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, Max Gluckman (A. H. Halsey). *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, Audrey I. Richards. *Land Tenure in Buganda*, A. B. Mukwaya. *The Kibanja System of Land Tenure in Bunyoro, Uganda*, J. H. M. Beattie (H. A. Fosbrooke). *Nigeria Quarterly* (P. M. Worsley).

Additions to the Library, July to December 1955.

Contents No. 22

J. Clyde Mitchell : *Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.*

A. A. Nyirenda : *African Market Vendors in Lusaka : with a note on the recent boycott* (foreword by J. C. Mitchell).

Reviews : *African Townsmen.* A discussion of Cyril and Rhona Sofer's, *Jinja Transformed :* A. W. Southall and P. C. W. Gutkind's *Townsmen in the Making :* and *The Baumanville Community* (University of Natal, Institute of Social Research) (A. L. Epstein). *Alur Society : a Study in Processes and Types of Domination*, A. W. Southall (I. Cunnison). *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies*, I. Schapera (I. Cunnison). *The Nature of African Customary Law*, T. Olawale Elias (A. Arthur Schiller). *The Tribes of Northern Rhodesia*, W. V. Brelsford (C. M. N. White).

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Contributors to this Issue

George Shepperson is a Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge. During the War he served as an infantry officer with Nyasaland battalions of the King's African Rifles in East Africa, Ceylon, India and Burma. Since 1948 he has been Lecturer in Imperial and American History at Edinburgh University. He has specialized in the history of the anti-slavery movement, the American Negro, and Central and East Africa. His major work, *Independent African, John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915*, has just been published by Edinburgh University Press.

L. H. Gann, B.Litt., is at present working in the Central African Archives, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. He was a research officer (historian) at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute from September, 1950, to January, 1953.

H. A. Fosbrooke, sometime Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and presently the Director of the Institute, came to Northern Rhodesia in 1956 after serving for 24 years in Tanganyika, firstly as a District Officer and for the last six years of his career as Government Sociologist. He has contributed numerous articles to scientific journals on various tribes of Tanganyika, particularly the Masai, and has represented the East and Central African governments at several international conferences.

EDITORIAL NOTES

IN continuance of the policy of featuring specific subjects in successive numbers of the Journal, this issue is largely devoted to historical articles. The first of these, 'The History of Scheme R 370' deals with very recent history, but if such is not committed to paper while still fresh, records get lost and a considerable amount of research is required to reconstruct the past. Also it is fitting that tribute should be paid to the workers themselves and to those who financed the research—largely the British taxpayer—before the part played by both these essential co-operators in any research project is forgotten.

Dr. Shepperson's article, which forms the main contribution to this number, not only contains a wealth of detail in itself but is notable for the broad fields of reading which it opens up both to the student and to the inhabitants—indigenous and immigrant—of Central Africa.

Mr. Gann features in this number not only as the author of one of the three books discussed by Dr. Shepperson, but also by performing a useful service in drawing attention to the value of the *Northern Rhodesia Journal* as a historical source book. In neighbouring territories similar journals form a store-house of valuable knowledge—the *Nyasaland Journal*, *N.A.D.A.* in Southern Rhodesia, and *Tanganyika Notes and Records*—which it is hoped that Mr. Gann and others will draw to the attention of our readers in future numbers.

The delay in publishing this number, due in the Spring of 1958, has been compensated by the issue of Paper No. 28. It is hoped that Journal No. 24 will follow in a month or two—devoted to tribal and rural subjects—and that Paper No. 29, on the Blantyre-Limbe peri-urban problem, by Dr. Bettison, will be published soon afterwards.

Journal No. 25 will have an economic bias, which is fitting as it will be compiled shortly after the twelfth Institute conference, whose theme will be the social problems of industry in Central Africa. It is therefore most appropriate that by invitation of the City Council its venue should be Bulawayo, whose advance in the industrial field is unrivalled in Central Africa.

OBITUARY

EDWIN SMITH

LONG before this appears in print many obituary notices will have paid tribute to the work of Edwin Smith, who died on 23rd December, 1957, after a short illness.

The tributes paid by the church papers to his work as a missionary —both in the field and at organizational level—will have been rivalled by the eulogies in anthropological literature to the joint author of *Smith and Dale*—one need not be more specific—and to the one time Editor of *Africa*.

Here in Lusaka we are fortunate in having access to a contemporary and colleague of Smith, the Rev. J. R. Shaw, whom we asked to write of Smith's early life and work in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Shaw's tribute which follows supplements in a manner which only personal knowledge can the details of Smith's life appearing in our contemporaries.

'Edwin Smith was born in 1876 at Aliwal North, on the bank of the Orange River where it emerges from Basutoland. He was thus familiar with African people from his early years, and especially the Basuto. His father was a minister of the Primitive Methodist Church and laboured to serve Africans and Europeans in the north-east of Cape Colony. Aliwal North was in the 1880's the jumping-off point for the French missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission who went away over the river to the mountains of Basutoland.

'The boy Smith would doubtless hear at first hand of the journey to the Zambesi of the Coillards, who were the first missionaries to settle in Barotseland. One can believe that those early experiences led to his life's work.

'The Smiths returned to England and there Edwin received his education and ministerial training.

'In 1897, Edwin Smith was received into the ministry of his father's Church and then set out to take up the task of his life—the service of Africa. Travel from Cape Colony to the Zambesi was blocked by the South African War. Smith could not waste time so he went to Basutoland and helped the French missionaries. He studied Bantu languages, particularly Sesuto, and so when the war was over he already could use fluently the language spoken both in Basutoland and Barotseland.

In 1902 rail-head in Rhodesia was at Bulawayo. From that point Smith travelled by ox wagon to the Zambesi and then on to the Nanzhila Mission at the west end of the Kafue Plains. A wagon

journey of about 500 miles was his introduction to Northern Rhodesia.

'At Nanzhila, Smith, arriving in July 1902, set out at once to provide decent housing in place of the simple huts which had been the home of the pioneers. He built a house of Kimberley brick with *mopani* pole roof and good thatch. Wages were then paid in blankets and cloth. The house cost £70 and is still doing good work in 1958 as a day school. Someone worked hard and wisely.

'After housing was assured, Smith settled down to his primary work as a Christian missionary. A primary school was opened. Simple school books, a book of Old Testament Stories, some of the Gospels, a Catechism and Hymnal were attempted and produced. All the time Smith was studying the people and the local language. To such effect was this work done that in 1906 the Oxford University Press printed Smith's *Handbook of the Ila Language*. This book, with its Ila–English and English–Ila vocabularies, was an outstanding piece of work and presented an open door to those who came after.

'After furlough in England in 1906/7, Smith returned to Northern Rhodesia to open a new mission station at Kasenga, in the very centre of the Ila country. He was determined that the whole of the New Testament should be translated into Ila before the end of his term and he sought the finest possible translation atmosphere so that God's truth might be made clear.

'During these years at Kasenga, Smith and Dale, the latter being the resident magistrate at Namwala, worked on their own lines and together to study and to record the details of African life which are not easily seen nor understood. By 1915 the manuscript of their famous two-volume work was complete. Again war interfered, printing was held up until 1920. Smith went to France as a Chaplain and Andrew Dale was wounded on his first day at the front at the battle of Loos.'

This concluded Smith's period of continuous residence in Africa though he paid subsequent visits. From the Forces he took up work with the British and Foreign Bible Society and in the period between the wars established his literary and academic reputation with a series of books, papers and lectures.

Retiring from the Bible Society in 1939 he embarked on a new phase of his career by spending four years as a visiting professor in the United States. Thereafter he undertook the editorship of *Africa*, 1945–8, and continued to write and lecture on Africa till his death. So although many years separated his period of service in Africa from his death, his early direct influence on the area was supplemented by the inspiration and knowledge which his lectures and writings stimulated in successive generations of missionaries and Government servants.

AERIAL VIEW OF THE INSTITUTE FROM THE EAST

R. 370 buildings, dark roofs, and subsequent extensions, light roofs. Main block in centre. Senior quarters top left and top right, Director's house bottom right, Research Assistants and other staff bottom left.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH SCHEME R 370

by

H. A. FOSBROOKE

Introduction

SINCE the establishment of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in 1937 it has become traditional that the Director should issue a triennial report. This system was inaugurated by Godfrey Wilson [1] and was followed by two reports from Gluckman [2] and one from Colson.[3] Finally, a report particularly relevant to the present paper was issued by Mitchell.[4] This covers half the life of Scheme R 370 which commenced in 1950; the present paper incorporates much of the material contained in Mitchell's report regarding the history of the Institute which it carries up to the time when the scheme closed on 31st March, 1956.

The present juncture is particularly appropriate at which to publish this history: if it had been written any earlier it would not have been possible to make reference to the impressive body of publication which has arisen from the research conducted during the period. There is, of course, much more expected from the pens of the R 370 workers, but if the publication of an account of the scheme is longer delayed it will belong to the realms of distant history and so fail to stimulate interest.

To see in perspective the part which R 370 played in the developing life of the Institute it is necessary briefly to outline the previous history. Founded in 1937 as a result of local initiative, the Institute had no sooner got into its stride with the appointment of a Director, a Field Anthropologist and a Curator-Secretary than the outbreak of World War II caused its activities to be reduced practically to a care and maintenance basis. Before hostilities had concluded, however, the British Government had launched the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme which did, and is continuing to do, so much

[1] G. B. Wilson (1941), *Report to Trustees*. Roneoed and privately circulated.

[2] M. Gluckman (1944), *Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the years 1941–2–3*. Privately printed and circulated. M. Gluckman (1948), 'Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the years 1944–5–6.' *R.L.J.*, No. 6, pp. 64–79. See also Gluckman's 'Social Anthropology in Central Africa', *R.L.J.*, No. 20, pp. 1–27 which places the work under R 370 in the broader setting of work conducted prior to and parallel with research under the scheme under report.

[3] E. Colson (1950), 'Director's Report to the Trustees on the R.L.I. on the work of the years 1947–8–9.' *R.L.J.*, No. 10, pp. 73–93.

[4] J. C. Mitchell (1955), 'The Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the R.L.I. during the years 1950, 51, 52.' *R.L.J.*, No. 17, pp. 24–49.

for social research in general and for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in particular. The first scheme R 31 was approved in 1944 and permitted the recruitment of Colson, Barnes and Mitchell.[1] A subsequent scheme R 194 launched Cunnison in the field, whilst the establishment of two Fellowships from another source, the Beit Trust, enabled Holleman and Hughes to conduct their researches in Southern Rhodesia. This then was the picture in January, 1950 when the scheme opened under the directorship of Colson.

To round off the picture it is equally profitable to glance forward from the date when the scheme closed, 31st March, 1956, to the time of writing, April, 1958, as much of the work going on in this latter period owes its existence to the foundations laid during the currency of the scheme: such material as is relevant in this regard appears in the appropriate sections hereunder.

Organization

Trustees

The Institute is controlled by a Board of Trustees, the composition of which is laid down by statute. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia is President of the Board with the Secretary of Native Affairs and the Financial Secretary of Northern Rhodesia as members. Normal postings and promotions during the currency of the scheme naturally brought about changes of personnel in these posts. Another statutory requirement is a Provincial Commissioner: so long as the Institute was at Livingstone the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, served in this capacity. Since 1952, however, with the Institute at Lusaka the Provincial Commissioner, Central Province, has filled this post. A further statutory requirement is that one member should be an unofficial Member of Legislative Council. The period opened with Mr. Morris in this position; he was followed by Mr. Millar, whilst in 1954 Mr. Franklin, at present the Member for Education and Social Services in the Northern Rhodesia Government and also the Vice-President of the Board, joined in this position. Further appointments are made at the Governor's discretion. Sir Ellis Robins was invited to join the Board in 1942, served throughout the period under report and resigned only in 1957 on his departure from the territory. Another appointment in this category was that of Mr. Clark who resigned and was replaced by Mr. Tucker in 1952. In 1953 Mr. Little also joined the Board in this category: the two last mentioned are happily still with us.

At the conclusion of scheme R 370 the Board was expanded to

[1] The status of so many of our workers has advanced from plain Mr. to Dr. or Professor since they commenced work with the Institute. This is a matter of great pride to the Institute but a possible source of confusion to the writer and reader of history. For this reason, and in no spirit of disrespect, past and present staff are referred to by surnames only throughout this report.

a total of 14 members representing the wider interests of the Federal Government, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and other agencies who, by their financial contributions or for other reasons could, it was felt, contribute to the deliberations of the Board.

Staff

During the period there were numerous changes of directorship. Ill health compelled Colson to resign in July, 1951; thereafter Mitchell acted as Director of Research till January, 1952, when he was appointed as substantive Director. He held the post till 1955 when he left in August to take up the Chair of African Studies at the newly established University College at Salisbury. White was seconded from his post as District Officer in the Northern Rhodesia Government to act as Director till the present Director, Fosbrooke, came down from Tanganyika and took over in March, 1956, just before the scheme closed.

The changes in the post of Administrative Secretary were even more frequent. Mrs. Close resigned in July, 1950, and was followed by Miss Hyam, who left in December, 1951, to marry. Thereafter Mrs. Robinson, a temporary local appointment, held the post till Miss McCulloch arrived in September, 1952. She in turn handed over to Miss Longton in June, 1954, who remained at her post till the scheme concluded. The present Administrative Secretary, Miss Marsden, took over from January, 1957.

Mrs. Winterbottom was Librarian when the scheme opened but resigned in May, 1950, being followed by Mrs. Rybicka, who remained Librarian till December, 1952. She in turn was replaced by Mrs. Ursula Stevenson, B.A., F.L.A., who saw the scheme through to its conclusion. Although not with us at the moment it is hoped that she will ultimately return to the Institute.

Many changes occurred amongst the African personnel during the life of the scheme, particularly amongst the head-office staff. Some of the research assistants appointed under the scheme, and some from dates even earlier than that, are still with us, and formed a most valuable foundation on which the present team of field workers was built.

Finance

Scheme R 370 was based on a most handsome contribution of £100,000 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Of this sum £29,000 was allocated to buildings and enabled the Institute to move up from Livingstone to its present pleasant headquarters in Lusaka.

The remaining £71,000 was designated to cover the cost of headquarters administration and field research but was only payable on condition that these activities were financed to the extent of 30 per cent by local resources. In the event our local subscribers rose

adequately to the occasion so that by the end of the scheme the whole of the £71,000 had been claimed.

The main subscribers of this scheme were the Northern Rhodesia Government who contributed a total of £29,690, Southern Rhodesia Government £1,800, the East African Governments £1,150, the British South African Company £2,200 and last but not least a combined total of £11,850 from the Mining Companies of Northern Rhodesia.

The approach of the British Government to the Institute's problem was typical of the philosophy which underlies the whole Development and Welfare Scheme, sometimes termed 'pump priming'. The research schemes prior to R 370 had received grants amounting to one hundred per cent of their cost. During the currency of this scheme 70 per cent of the current expenditure came from Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. In the subsequent scheme, R 698, only head office expenditure is provided for as local resources are expected to bear the whole burden of research. This they have very nobly shouldered so that in effect the 70 : 30 ratio which previously existed has almost been reversed.

Research

This section will deal only with the personnel engaged and the titles of the schemes to which they were assigned. The results of such work will be found under the subsequent heading Publications.

The period opens with Colson as Director and simultaneously continuing her work amongst the Tonga. Barnes had proceeded on final leave in June, 1949, and Mitchell was in U.K. writing up his Yao material and about to return to the Copperbelt, where he commenced work in July, 1950. Cunnison likewise was overseas engaged in writing up and returned that year to continue his Luapula studies. Another worker from the previous scheme, Miss Elliot, was at that time working on labour migration.

With funds secured, recruitment commenced. Dr. Marion Pearsall was recruited from the States, but unfortunately resigned shortly after her arrival in Central Africa. Turner commenced his work on the Lunda-Lovale study in October, 1950, and after a break for preliminary write-up at Cape Town and Manchester in 1952 he returned to the field in 1953 for a second spell of field work. This concluded with a second write-up period and his contract with the Institute finally terminated in February, 1955. Gann commenced his work as Historian in September, 1950, with a study of available material in U.K. He came out to Africa in May, 1951, working on archives and personal interview till September, 1952, when he returned to Britain with the expiration of his contract in January, 1953. Watson was appointed in October, 1951 ; after six months' study at Manchester he commenced field work in April, 1952. He returned to Manchester for a mid-tour

write-up, during which time he completed his doctorate, returning to the field in June, 1954. He left again in July, 1955, and his contract finally expired in October, 1956. Van Velsen took the place of Pearsall to undertake the study of the Lake-side Tonga of Nyasaland. Arriving in April, 1952 he proceeded on his first write-up period in October, 1953, returning to Nyasaland in June, 1954. He continued in the field till July, 1955: inclusive of an extension of contract to complete his write-up he finally left the Institute in October, 1956.

So much for the workers in the tribal field. Concurrently with his activity in the rural areas much work was going on in the urban setting. Mitchell had returned from his Yao write-up and commenced work on the Copperbelt in July, 1950, having been reappointed to the Institute in the capacity of Senior Sociologist. He continued in this post till January, 1952, when he was appointed Director. He moved to the headquarters at Lusaka in January, 1953. Epstein, who had previously been studying Native Courts in Northern Rhodesia under a C.S.S.R.C. grant, joined the Institute staff as lawyer at the end of 1952. He was subsequently, in March, 1955, appointed Senior Sociologist. He was the last member of the R 370 staff to leave the Institute, overlapping into the new scheme till December, 1956, when he returned to U.K.: his contract finally expired in March, 1957. Miss Elsie Richardson joined the staff devoted to urban work in early 1953 as Second Sociologist. To acquire the local language and cultural background she worked for six months amongst the Bemba in a rural setting before commencing her studies on the Copperbelt. She left in April, 1955, on the occasion of her marriage.

It will thus be seen that the funds granted under scheme R 370 were sufficient to support three workers on full-term contracts in the rural setting and an equal number engaged on urban work. The list of publications shown below is by any standard most impressive and will be more so in the future as the material collected during this period is by no means exhausted.

Publications

The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal

The Journal continued to enhance its reputation in the academic world, Nos. 8–19 coming out during the period under report. This represents, over the six years of the scheme, exactly two issues per year. Since the closure of the scheme there has been some irregularity of publication and at the time of writing the series has reached No. 22. Journal articles arising from research mentioned in the previous section are:

Gann, L. H. 'The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889–1912.' *R.L.J.*, XVI, 1954, 27–51.

GANN, L. H. 'The Northern Rhodesian Copper Industry and the World of Copper: 1923–52.' *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 1–18.
MITCHELL, J. C. 'A Note on the Urbanization of Africans on the Copperbelt.' *R.L.J.*, XII, 1951, 20–7.
—— 'An Estimate of Fertility Among Africans on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.' *R.L.J.*, XIII, 1952, 18–29.
—— 'The Distribution of African Labour by Area of Origin on the Copper Mines of Northern Rhodesia.' *R.L.J.*, XIV, 1954, 30–6.
—— 'Director's Report to the Trustees on the work of the Institute during the years 1950, 1951 and 1952.' *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 23–50.
—— 'Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.' *R.L.J.*, XXII, 1957, 1–30.
NYIRENDA, A. A. 'African Market Vendors in Lusaka: with a note on the recent boycott (foreword by J. C. Mitchell.)' *R.L.J.*, XXII, 1957, 31–63.
TURNER, V. W. 'A Revival in the Study of African Ritual.' *R.L.J.*, XVII, 1955, 51–6.
—— 'A Lunda Love Story and its Consequences: Selected Texts from Traditions Collected by Henrique Dias de Carvallo at the Court of Mwatianvwa in 1887.' *R.L.J.*, XIX, 1955, 1–26.
TURNER, E. L. B. and V. W. 'Money Economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A Study of Some Individual Cash Budgets.' *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 19–37.
WATSON, W. 'The Kaonde Village.' *R.L.J.*, XV, 1954, 1–30.

Reviews

EPSTEIN, A. L. 'Sukuma Law and Custom.' *R.L.J.*, XVI, 1954, 52–3.
LONGTON, J. 'Study on Adoption of Children: A Study on the Practice and Procedures related to the Adoption of Children, by United Nations Dept. of Social Affairs.' *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 62–4.
MITCHELL, J. C. *A Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. II, by R. R. Kuczynski. *R.L.J.*, XI, 1951, 74–7.
—— *Report of a Conference on Social Welfare held at Mindolo Mission on 26th and 27th May, 1950.* *R.L.J.*, XII, 1951, 70–1.
—— *Relation Patterns of Kampala, Uganda*, by Edwin S. Munger. *R.L.J.*, XV, 1954, 46–52.
—— *Manual of a Thematic Apperception Test for African Subjects*, S. G. Lee. *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 61–2.
—— *The Ethnographic Surveys of Africa, East Central Africa.* Parts III–IX. *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 64–5.
—— *Islamic Law in Africa*, by J. N. D. Anderson. *R.L.J.*, XIX, 1955, 48–9.
RICHARDSON, E. M. 'Peoples of Sierra-Leone Protectorate,' by Merran McCulloch. *Ethnographic Survey of Africa.* *R.L.J.*, XVIII, 1955, 66–7.
WATSON, W. *Good Company: A Study of Nyakusa Age-Villages*, by Monica Wilson. *R.L.J.*, XV, 1954, 43–6.
—— *Migrant Labour in the Gold Coast*, by R. B. Davison. *R.L.J.*, XXI, 1957, 81.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers

The series of Papers issued by the Institute is a most valuable means of publishing results of the Institute's research but as the

st shows the series is not confined to Institute employees: the llowing arose from research under the scheme:

IcCULLOCH, Merran. *A Social Survey of the African Population of Livingstone. R.L. Paper, 26*, 1956, pp. 96.

MITCHELL, J. C. *The Kalela Dance: Aspects of Social Relationships among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia. R.L. Paper 27*, 1956, pp. 60.

Whilst the aim has been to publish two Papers each year we did ot succeed in reaching that target during the six years of the scheme, uring which period eight Papers were published.

Communications

The Communications series consists of roneoed reports of a etailed nature and of local interest. R 370 was responsible for he appearance of Nos. 6, 7, and 10:

No. 6. *African Urbanization in Ndola and Luanshya*, by J. Clyde Mitchell. 1954.

No. 7. *A Selected Bibliography of The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, by R. M. S. Ng'ombe. 1957.

No. 10. *The African Railway Workers' Union, Ndola, Northern Rhodesia*, by P. B. Mwewa. 1958.

Numerous articles published in other journals arose from research nanced by R 370; they are:

EPSTEIN, A. L. 'An Outline of the Political Structure of an African urban community on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.' *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara*, Unesco, 1956, 711–24.

MITCHELL, J. C. 'Urbanization, Detribalization and Stabilization.' *Unesco SS/Af. Conf./9*, Paris, August, 9, 1954. 19 pp. Also in *Social Implications of Industrialization in Africa South of the Sahara*, Unesco, 1956, 693–711.

—— 'Africans in Industrial Towns in Northern Rhodesia.' *H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Study Conference*, 1956.

—— 'The African Middle Classes in British Central Africa.' *International Institute of Differing Civilizations. Development of a middle Class in tropical and sub-tropical countries:* Record of the XXIst Session held in London from 13th–16th September, 1955, 222–32.

—— 'Power and Prestige among Africans in Northern Rhodesia: An Experiment.' *Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesian Scientific Association*, Vol. XLV, 1957, 13–26.

TURNER, V. W. 'The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia.' *Ethographic Survey of Africa*, International African Institute, 1952, pp. vii, 62.

—— 'The Spatial Separation of Generations in Ndembu Village Structure.' *Africa*, XXV, 2, April, 1955. 121–37.

Books

The ultimate objective of any full-term contract is the production of a full-length book, but even before the results of Scheme R 370

began to appear in this form, the scheme had already been responsible for the publication of *Seven Tribes in British Central Africa* containing essays by Colson, Gluckman, Richards, Barnes, Wilson, Mitchell and Holleman. Published in 1951, this sold so well that a reprint is now in hand. During the currency of the scheme books appeared based on earlier work, namely *Shona Customary Law* by Holleman in late 1952, *Politics in a Changing Society* by Barnes in 1954, *The Judicial Process among the Barotse* by Gluckman in March, 1955, and *The Yao Village* by Mitchell in 1956. Of the pre-R 370 workers Colson and Cunnison both have books in the press which will be published shortly.

Of the R 370 workers Turner was first off the mark, his book *Schism and Continuity in an African Society : A Study of Ndembu Village Life* appeared at the end of 1957, whilst Epstein's *Politics in an Urban African Community* appeared in January, 1958. The following are also in the press :

GANN, L. H. *The Birth of a Plural Society.*
VAN VELSEN, J. *The Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland.*
WATSON, W. *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy : A Study of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia.*

Mitchell and Richardson are still working on the involved statistical material arising from their urban studies which has already given rise to several reports and Papers.

Thus Scheme R 370 has led to the publication of two books with another three in the press and more expected later. In addition, during and subsequent to the scheme, a further five books were published by the Institute. The administration associated with publication was carried by the Institute and is thus also to the credit of the scheme.

CONFERENCES : INSTITUTE

It has been customary for the Institute to organize conferences with a dual purpose : first for enabling its own field workers to share experiences and exchange ideas ; and in the second place to permit of an exchange of views with Government officers and others concerned with problems in the social field. Wherever possible it has been arranged that an outside expert should attend and thus stimulate and enlarge the field of discussion. The list which appears below shows that six conferences were held during the currency of scheme R 370 with visiting experts coming from far afield.

4th Conference, July, 1950, Bulawayo, with Professor I. Schapera.
5th Conference, February, 1951, Kitwe, with Professors J. D. Krige and M. Wilson.
6th Conference, January, 1953, Lusaka, with Professor and Dr. Hilda Kuper.
7th Conference, October, 1953, Lusaka with Professor Monica Wilson

8th Conference, June, 1954, Lusaka, with Professor Mayer, Dr. Maquet and Dr. Holleman.
9th Conference, March, 1955, Lusaka.
10th Conference, April, 1957, Lusaka.
11th Conference, February, 1958, Lusaka, with Professors Fletcher, Irving, Maquet and Mitchell.
12th Conference, September, 1958, Bulawayo.

Some of these conferences have been devoted to general discussion whilst others have concentrated on particular themes, e.g. the seventh conference took as its subject *The Industrial Revolution in British Central Africa*, whilst the eighth considered *African Leadership* both in the urban and the rural setting: the title of the eleventh conference, the proceedings of which are now available, was *Present Interrelations in Central African Rural and Urban Society*.

Conferences Attended

The Institute has been called upon from time to time to provide delegates to International and Inter-Territorial Conferences. Such occasions have proved a most useful means whereby the worker concerned was enabled to widen his horizons and at the same time make known to a wider public the work of the Institute. Mitchell attended the *World Population Conference* in Rome in 1954 called by the United Nations. He was appointed organizer to Section B.8. Mitchell also prepared a Paper for the Unesco Conference on the *Social Effects of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa* held at Abijan in October, 1954. He could not, however, personally attend the conference so Epstein went instead as the Institute's representative. Mitchell also appeared as alternate Federal member on the Inter-African Committee of Social Sciences, an organization established by C.C.T.A. Fosbrooke, as Director-designate, was a member of the Northern Rhodesia delegation to the Colonial Office Land Tenure Conference held in Arusha in February, 1956.

Conferences subsequently attended will doubtless appear in future reports but to bring this important aspect of the Institute's workings to date the following attendances are recorded:

Fosbrooke attended the 1957 Conference on African History at the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Colonial Office Summer Conference at Cambridge, in 1957, the C.C.T.A. Conference on Rural Welfare in Madagascar in October, 1957, and the Colonial Office Conference on Urban Problems held at Ndola in 1958 which was also attended by Bettison as a member of the Northern Rhodesia delegation.

Buildings and Equipment

Scheme R 370 provided the means whereby the Institute was moved from Livingstone to Lusaka and established in its present

commodious headquarters. Construction commenced towards the end of 1951, with John Howards as contractors; by November, 1952, the Administrative Secretary and Librarian moved in, followed by the Director, who came down from the Copperbelt in January, 1953. This first phase constructed not only the main office buildings and the Director's and Administrative Secretary's quarters, but an additional six houses for African staff and garage accommodation for three vehicles. A second programme followed with J. B. Robinson as contractor. This permitted the construction of a Rest House and five additional African houses. This second programme was ultimately extended to cover an additional African quarter, a closed-in verandah to the Director's house and a storeroom built on to the garages.

Subsequent building work has been undertaken and, although the funds did not come directly from R 370, a large proportion of the finance was drawn from reserves built up during that period so it is appropriate that such work should receive mention here. A minor programme of adjustment was undertaken in 1956; partitioning and walling-in open verandahs provided much additional working space in the main office building. An additional storeroom was built and certain adjustments, which time had proved necessary, were made to both senior and junior quarters.

The next big step forward came when Trustees sanctioned a building programme costing about £24,000 of which roughly two-thirds came from the accumulated reserves of the Institute and one-third from an additional grant from Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. In place of the block of four flats originally mooted it was decided to build two blocks of living accommodation, one comprising a three-bedroomed quarter, now occupied by the Director, and a self-contained flat. The second block consists of two identical quarters occupied by the Research and Administrative Secretaries. The two original quarters thus released are occupied by the Sociographer and an Industrial Sociologist. A good quality house was built for the Senior Research Assistant and a six-roomed Rest House to accommodate junior visiting staff. These two buildings complete a pleasant village layout. The construction of three sets of quarters for domestic servants adjacent to their employers has enabled us to draw these off from the village area which now consists entirely of Institute employees. This has the effect of engendering a feeling of community and a sense of unity. A feature of the new houses for junior staff is that all have internal sanitation and showers and running water in their kitchens.

At the time of writing bricks are being delivered to the site for the construction of a new wing to the main block which Trustees have authorized. This will provide three studies, a small meeting hall and appropriate store and verandah accommodation. It will be devoted primarily to industrial research.

During the years appropriate equipment has gradually been

acquired. The most outstanding item is a Power Samas Sorter machine which was bought at the cost of £500 with money saved from Mitchell's salary when he held a Simon Fellowship in Manchester. Cameras are always available to field staff and calculating machines to office workers. More recent acquisitions include a mapping desk, slide projector, a micro-film reader and stand to enable documents to be photographed.

Conclusion

From the foregoing it is apparent that Scheme R 370 was a combined operation involving those who provided the finance, both in the United Kingdom and locally, those who administered the scheme—and in this connection Trustees, busy men of affairs deserve special mention for the time which they voluntarily devoted to the affairs of the Institute—and the research workers who undertook the actual work in the field often under arduous conditions, and, no less a task, the write-up of results in such a way as to command the admiration both of the academic world and of the general reader. If any one group were to receive special mention the present writer would single out his predecessors as director, who not only succeeded in carrying on their own research, but laid such sound foundations as those on which the present structure is being built.

THE LITERATURE OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

A Review Article

by

GEORGE SHEPPERSON

Nyasaland. The Land of the Lake, by FRANK DEBENHAM. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1955. Pp. xi, 239. (29 plates, 30 drawings, 8 maps and diagrams, illustrated endpapers.) 25*s*.

The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, by A. J. HANNA. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 281. (3 plates, 2 maps.) 35*s*.

The Birth of a Plural Society. The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894–1914, by L. H. GANN. Published by the Manchester University Press for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1958.[1]

I

LUGARD was right when he wrote in 1893 that British Central Africa has 'a literature of its own'.[2] At least four divisions may be distinguished in this. The first is predominantly 'traditional literature'[3] which has lasted relatively untouched well into the days of European occupation but which has been increasingly influenced in form and content by the Western world;[4] and from which, perhaps, one day will emerge a new African literature that will bid for the attention of the European himself—though, as yet, British Central Africa has produced no *Palm Wine Drinkard*. The second

[1] This work was reviewed in manuscript.

[2] *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (London, 1893), I, p. 404.

[3] Duff MacDonald, *Africana* (London, 1882), I, pp. 47–57.

[4] For an early example of this, see Dan Crawford's note on an 1897 Bemba 'ballad' on the death of Livingstone

> Tell me! oh tell me! where are you going to emigrate to?
> The charms are lost! the country is rotten (already);
> For Livingstone is dead!
> An elephant is dead from a spear wound—
> The lovely one has gone.

(*Aurora*, II, 1898, p. 8; see also Harry Johnson, *Night and Morning in Dark Africa* (London: L.M.S., n.d.), p. 16). For an earlier version of this see ed. Horace Waller, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone* (London, 1874), II, 316; H. H. Johnston, *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa* (London, 1891), p. 358. The comment on Livingstone in the Johnston version as 'the child of hair and of the coast' is a reference to the widespread belief amongst Africans that Europeans came from the sea, and hence their hair was straight, not crinkled. Cf. W. A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni* (Edinburgh, 1899), p. 112; D. R. MacKenzie, *The Spirit-Ridden Konde* (London, 1925), p. 102, etc.

is a period which continues into the mid-1890's. Though this is primarily a European literature, it draws heavily on African materials for its locale and colour. If it is marked by a certain ' utopianism ' —particularly in those examples which were produced outside Africa —both in the setting of its writing and the hopes, cultural and commercial, which it expresses,[1] nevertheless, it has solid foundations in the mission presses that were established, the African artisans who were trained to work them, and the output of newspapers and pamphlets in English and the vernaculars that were produced for both European and African.[2] Sir Harry Johnston's remarkable *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), which incorporated much of others' work, stands as a monument to the literary industry of British Central Africans of this time.

The third period, from the mid-1890's to the Second World War, carries on the second period's main *genre*, the book of travel and adventure, of which there was no lessening in quantity and no increase in quality. The quality in the literature of this time is to be found in scholarly writings such as Sir Reginald Coupland's *Kirk on the Zambesi* (Oxford, 1928) and in the monographic productions of professional sociologists.

It is in the fourth period, after the Second World War, that a new prospect has opened up for British Central African literature. The renewal of interest in Africa in general by Europeans ; the stimulus of service with African troops for Europeans, and the new horizons which war service provided for African soldiers ; the political and social problems of the emergent Federation ; the discovery of new documentary sources—these and a host of other novel factors have revealed new vistas for writing in and about British Central Africa. If social, economic and linguistic problems, to

[1] E.g. H. Rider Haggard, *The People of the Mist* (London, 1894), noted in *Nyasa News* (Likoma), 9, 1895, p. 301 ; an example of early Central African science fiction, Thomas Vetch, *The Amber City. Being Some Account of the Adventures of a Steam Crocodile in Central Africa* (London, 1889). For an interesting example of the relative merits of ' civilization ' and ' barbarism ', see Joseph Thomson and Miss Harris-Smith, *Ulu, An African Romance* (London, 1888) : ' " Better live on Kilimanjaro, surrounded by savages, all your life, than go into the world, and get all your bright dreams and illusions dissipated, and where you expected paradise find—well, shall we say Tophet ? " ', p. 149, etc.

[2] 1877, two numbers of a manuscript magazine, *The Aurora* (see *Aurora*, Livingstonia, 1897, I, i, p. 1) ; 1888, beginnings of Blantyre missionaries' *Life and Work in British Central Africa* (hereafter referred to as *L.W.B.C.A.*) ; 1893 5, *The Nyasa News* (Likoma) ; 1894, first number of *The British Central Africa Gazette* ; 1895-7, *The Central African Planter* (first unofficial secular newspaper, forerunner of the ' C.A.T.') ; 1897, *The Aurora* (subsequently *Livingstonia News*). One of the first Nyasaland African newspapers was *Kalilole* (*The Mirror*), monthly, 1d., edited by the Blantyre missionaries : began publication 1890 ; had circulation of 133 in February, 1891 (see *L.W.B.C.A.*, September, 1890, pp. 2 and 3, which also notes the beginning of an African paper by the U.M.C.A. ; February, 1891, p. 1 ; 1892, January, p. 3, February, p. 2 ; May, 1895, p. 3). For a bibliography of some sixty or more works in the vernaculars by Portuguese, British and German translators and grammarians, see *Aurora*, V, 1901, p. 47 ; VI, 1902, p. 68,

date, have made the African writers' response to these new conditions no easy one, some Europeans have risen rapidly to the challenge, and at least one work has been produced, Colonel Laurens Van Der Post's *Venture to the Interior* (London, 1952),[1] for which the laurels of a masterpiece have been claimed. In a humbler fashion, the founding of the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Societies has stimulated a new study of local conditions which historians and others should find adds detail and colour to the general pattern of their discoveries.

Thus, at a time when one can look back on almost three generations of a not inconsiderable literary activity in and about British Central Africa, the publication of three recent books on this region by professional academics may afford the interested reader some stimulus to acquaint—or re-acquaint—himself with its past writing; to consider, perhaps even to contribute to, its present literature; and, maybe, to strive to discover standards whereby the future of such writing shall be appraised and improved. In particular, he may find himself considering whether the demand which was raised by a group of local literati who met at Blantyre in July, 1899, to hear an address on 'The literature on B.C.A.' has been fulfilled. They expressed 'the need for a book dealing thoroughly with the history of British Central Africa', and stipulated that 'such a work should deal not merely with the British occupation but also with the history of the natives'.[2]

II

One takes up Professor Frank Debenham's book with high hopes. It is the third volume to appear in the handsome format of the Colonial Office's 'Corona Library', a series which sets itself the laudable aim of filling 'the place between official Blue Books on the one hand and the writings of occasional visitors on the other, to be authoritative and readable, and to give a vivid yet accurate picture'. One recalls, too, Professor Debenham's geographical writings on Central Africa, and his recent book on Livingstone, *The Way to Ilala* (London, 1955), in which he threw new light on Livingstone's last journey by his understanding of the problems of exploration—an understanding which comes naturally to the geologist of Scott's 1910–13 Antarctic expedition and the Founder Director of the Scott Polar Research Institute.

From a geographical point of view, indeed, these hopes are not disappointed. Although Professor Debenham is not writing for a specialist audience, he introduces complicated topics like the 'shift' and level of Lake Nyasa in easily understandable language, and his

[1] Cf. 'The Beginnings of Mlanje', *L.W.B.C.A.*, October, 1899, pp. 6-8, which describes the first ascent of Mount Mlanje in 1888 by the missionary, Robert Cleland.

[2] *L.W.B.C.A.*, July, 1899, p. 1.

geographer's eye singles out aspects of the Nyasaland scene in a way that, for many readers, will give a new appreciation to many old, familiar facts (e.g. p. 24). His geographical understanding, too, often enables him to throw out a striking sentence which makes very clear his particular point, at the same time as it suggests a number of new ideas which only await development. This can be seen in the following sentence, which goes to the root of Nyasaland's economic problems and also touches off a train of thought on its Scottish similarities and associations

> From the very first, therefore, Nyasaland was in the position of a very remote farm, say in the Hebrides, which could sell nothing except what it could grow and had to compete with the luckier farms which were closer to the market (p. 214).

Furthermore, Professor Debenham has all of the geographer's appreciation of map and picture, and the illustrations to the book form one of its main attractions. The first endpaper is an attractive contemporary picture of the *Ma Robert* as it encounters an elephant on the Shire River. (Surely the reference on p. 11 to the painter as 'T. Barnes' is mistaken? Should it not be 'T. Baines', artist-member of Livingstone's Zambezi expedition?) And his Ngoni cover-picture and illustrations in the text from *British Central Africa* provide evidence of the debt which early British Central African history owes to the first Commissioner's skill with brush and pencil. Above all, the practical geographer is very much to the fore in the conclusion which is a farsighted plea for a Shire Valley Authority.

But, disappointingly, when one turns from Professor Debenham as geographer to his comments on other aspects of the Nyasaland scene, one's hopes find little satisfaction. Authority begins to desert him, and he writes with a patronizing and paternalistic air which will disturb not only any African readers (the 'township types', to borrow the phrase from the caption to one of his photographs of a Yao audience listening to a speech) into whose hands this book may fall but also will annoy mid-twentieth century readers who can see little point in such sentences as

> The Administration must go on inventing incentives, such as putting gaudy scarves under the noses of the women, because that is one way of raising the African to our level of self-respect . . . (p. 166).

Professor Debenham, of course, like anyone else, is entitled to his opinion; but when that opinion is raised to the level of generalization, more than one reader will be inclined to take exception to what he says. How, for example, will some readers receive the following paragraph, with its final, unwarranted generalization?

> Another problem for some mothers arises at the three-year-old stage concerning how much contact should be allowed with the African children. But at that age there is really no feeling of colour difference in degree of intelligence, and for a year or so they can become good playmates, probably to the advantage of each. Even at that age one notices that the

European child is more persistent and serious in baby games than his black brother, who is much more ready to laugh but also to throw away the game for another one (p. 122).

One may attribute much of this tendency in Professor Debenham's writing to his habit of repeating the opinions of others. There is no harm in this, provided that the hearer of such opinions has taken the trouble to check their validity. Where he has not, his work cannot altogether be considered ' authoritative '. For example, in his discussion of the problems of the extended family amongst the African peoples of Nyasaland, Professor Debenham rightly makes the point that many Africans who leave the territory to earn money elsewhere become *machona*, ' lost ones ', because they do not want the trouble of returning to divide their earnings among their kith and kin. But, he then goes on to illustrate this in the following paragraph

> There is a rather successful Nyasalander in England who is a shining example on a high scale. He ran away from Nyasaland when a boy and by dint of energy and intelligence became a doctor and has never returned to his homeland. He was asked why he did not do so and his reply was that he would be a poor man if he did, as he would have to support anyone who claimed to be a relation in his tribe (p. 165).

This is clearly a reference to Dr. Hastings K. Banda, and it may or may not be the reason for his long absence from Nyasaland. But, because Dr. Banda has been an important figure in Central African politics, it would appear more than usually necessary in his case to verify this opinion. But has this been done? It seems most unlikely, particularly as, in the reference in the bibliography (p. 234) to Dr. Banda's editorial work with the late T. Cullen Young in *Our African Way of Life* (London, 1946), Dr. Hastings K. Banda appears as ' HASTINGS, B.'.

To some of the most complicated problems that have been faced by the British in Nyasaland, the questions of African land tenure and their ramifications into the perplexing problems of the ' Certificates of Claim ', the squatters on European estates, and the *tangata* system, Professor Debenham proves a most reluctant and unreliable guide. What evidence, for example, does he afford for his assertion that ' The chiefs made these bargains [sale of land to Europeans] with the acceptance if not the approval of their people . . .' (p. 93)? What evidence, indeed, could largely illiterate peoples have left of this in the 1890's? And so, Professor Debenham relies mainly on Johnston's assertion in his *British Central Africa* that the settlement ' gave distinct satisfaction to the natives ' (p. 94). Yet would one expect the prime architect of the Nyasaland land settlement to say anything else but this? Professor Debenham reveals his own attitude to the question when he calls it an ' important but dull topic ' (p. 94). It is difficult to see how this topic can be called dull when it has been one of the major factors behind African

discontents in Nyasaland from the period prior to the Great War of 1914, when it had much to do with the origins of the Chilembwe Rising in the Magomero area (a centre of the ' Livingstone tradition ' according to Professor Debenham, p. 29) in 1915, down to the disturbances in 1953 in the Shire Highlands. Indeed, Professor Debenham himself points out the link between the problem of freehold land and the 1953 disturbances (p. 101). Yet, elsewhere (p. 99), he makes the remarkable statement that ' until the Africans were disturbed by recent politics, the relations between black and white were nearly perfect '.

This attitude forms one of the two enduring legends of Nyasaland, which Professor Debenham does little to dispel. The first of these, that until the politics of Federation entered the picture, ' the relations between white and black were nearly perfect ' in Nyasaland, is a considerable exaggeration. Leaving aside the metaphysical question of what constitutes a standard of perfection in this field, and passing by quickly the important fact of the heavy incidence of African migration from Nyasaland which has helped to take some of the more vociferous critics of European rule (such as the late Clements Kadalie) outside the territory, there has been sufficient African discontent in Nyasaland, from the founding of the Protectorate to the 1950's, to demonstrate this. Admittedly, Nyasaland has had nothing like the Matabele or Mashona rebellions ; but it has had its anti-hut tax prophets, its Elliott Kamwana, its John Chilembwe, its secret Kadalie supporters, and its highly political independent African church movement.[1]

The second legend is the claim that the standard of African education in Nyasaland has always been remarkably high. Professor Debenham does not succumb to this legend as much as he does to the first one, though he paints a rather rosy picture of educational development in the country. This legend seems to be the result of over-concentration on the achievements of the Livingstonia and Blantyre missionaries in the days of Laws and Hetherwick —it should be noted here that Professor Debenham is very much an admirer of these days and finds the modern missionaries disappointing by comparison (p. 144)—and of the undoubted fact that, as he correctly points out, ' the Nyasa boys have a high reputation beyond their own country, for loyalty, for intelligence and industry ' (p. 175). But what of those within the country ? Lord Hailey very appropriately puts the legend in its proper perspective ; and in view of its widespread currency, his words deserve quotation

> It has been usual to describe the Protectorate as having achieved an outstanding progress in education. Sir R. Bell's Report of 1938, for instance, estimated that there were 50–60 per cent of the inhabitants

[1] George Shepperson, ' The Politics of African Church Separatist Movements in British Central Africa, 1892–1916 ', *Africa* (London), XXIV, 3, 1954, pp. 233–46.

literate in the vernacular and 6 per cent learning English, but these statements have since come under criticism as the result of the Census investigations made in 1945. The Census Report estimates ·96 of the total de facto population (that is, excluding absentees) as literate in English, and 6·55 per cent as literate in the vernacular. . . .[1]

There are many other statements in Professor Debenham's book which are open to criticism. For example, he criticizes the modern Livingstonia missionaries for their participation in politics, and claims that they have ' transgressed Dr. Laws' own dictum that missionaries should not take sides in politics ' (p. 138). Yet Laws was a member of the Legislative Council in 1915, and he took part in all the debates and political manœuvrings in 1915 and 1916, at home and abroad, when missionary education in the Protectorate was under attack after the Chilembwe Rising. Elsewhere, one finds statements which come dangerously close to contradiction, such as the reference on p. 103 to ' the almost complete lack of economic pressure on the Nyasaland African compared with his opposite number in India or China or Egypt ' and the statement on p. 146 that ' just as the proverbial industry of the Indian and Chinese is largely due to the struggle for existence so in a very minor way the large numbers in Nyasaland had a consciousness that they must work a little harder than people who were not so closely packed, and it has become somewhat of a tradition '.

Professor Debenham's book belongs mainly to the travel narrative type of British Central African literature. Obviously, much of his writing and material is superior to that which is generally found in such works. But it also has the over-repetition, the discursiveness and the frequent reliance on second-hand opinion which characterize this kind of book. Nevertheless, like other travel books, it does report some first-hand observations which will have a certain value for the future historian. This is particularly true of some of his observations of Nyasaland on the eve of Federation, which, if they can hardly be called unbiassed, do report some valuable experiences for the historian of the future: his interview with Gomani (pp. 53–4), and the ' confused political atmosphere ' (p. 84) at a film show at Kota Kota are but two instances.

Professor Debenham's bibliography begins promisingly with a reference to ' the considerable bulk of literature concerning Nyasaland ' (p. 231), and a useful short essay in which he has some pertinent comments to make on the writings on British Central Africa. His emphasis on the importance of the newspaper as a source for the history of these regions seems to be one which cannot be pointed out too often. But his ' further reading list ', while it is more comprehensive than some others, is not as helpful as it might be. Since Professor Debenham pays particular tribute to the value of Official Reports, one might have expected a brief

[1] *Native Administration in the British African Territories, II* (London, 1950), p. 22.

guide to these ; and, if this were not possible, at least a mention of such outstandingly important works as the Abrahams' Report of the 1946 Land Commission.

It is no pleasant task to be so critical of Professor Debenham's book. But it does not live up to the hopes which were raised when its writing was first announced. To adapt the words of the official announcement of the ' Corona Library ', it is vivid and readable without being always authoritative and accurate, and it certainly fills a place between official Blue Books and the writings of occasional visitors. Yet it is doubtful, after a first reading, if one would turn to it with the assurance that one turns so frequently to S. S. Murray's *A Handbook of Nyasaland*, in either its 1922 or 1932 editions.

III

Dr. A. J. Hanna's book must be placed in a very different category. *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia 1859–95* is clearly a work which any serious student of British Central African affairs will want to possess or to have within easy reach in a library, for its employment of original and, to date, little-used historical sources makes it a pioneer historical work in this field, and one to which reference will frequently be made. It has been advertised as a sequel to Coupland's *Kirk on the Zambesi*—a useful, if rather misleading comparison, for Dr. Hanna's book is less readable than Coupland's : the dovetailing of the different sections is not always skilfully done ; and the style sometimes suffers from over-succinctness. Nevertheless, his task has been a more difficult one than Coupland's. Coupland was largely concerned with one theme, Livingstone's Zambezi expedition. Dr. Hanna has had to knit together a number of themes, and against a much wider background of international rivalries than Coupland's study of the 1860's, when the full hysteria of the scramble for Africa had yet to come.

Dr. Hanna has used three main groups of sources (the Foreign Office papers up to 1902 which were placed in the Public Record Office, London, after the 1945 War ; remaining Rhodes and British South Africa Company papers in Oxford, London and Cape Town ; and missionary records, of which the London Mission Society's papers constitute his major source). From these, he has sought to disentangle the leading threads of British Central African history, at a time when a predominantly paternalistic, missionary administration over groups of African peoples was giving place to a professional civil administration, and Great Britain, prodded by Cecil Rhodes and his Company, and by anxious individuals like Sir Harry Johnston, and perturbed groups such as the Scots with their fear of Portuguese penetration into what seemed a predominantly Caledonian colony, awoke to the realities of the scramble for Africa and asserted British control over the areas that were later to become Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Because he has drawn so

heavily on the Foreign Office papers, Dr. Hanna has some valuable points on the international and diplomatic ramifications of the British entry into the Nyasa regions. Although he uses no Portuguese sources, there is enough material in the Public Record Office for him to give an adequate survey of British-Portuguese relations at this time. But it is in his portrayal of the more domestic side of British administration on the Nyasa frontier, that Dr. Hanna is at his best. He has a good account of the flogging scandals of the Blantyre Mission in the 1880's, which may serve to remind a new generation of readers that the missionary and civil administrations of the new British possession did not face altogether dissimilar problems. And both young and old amongst his readers should find his account of the African Lakes Company and its many difficulties very refreshing after so much previous uncritical adulation of its pioneer management. Though Dr. Hanna makes due allowance for all the difficulties which such a unique venture faced, he is appropriately severe on the errors of its management and board of directors in Glasgow. He gives a much-needed outline of the complicated negotiations between the African Lakes and the British South Africa Companies: a struggle between the gnat and the elephant, in which, in spite of all the odds against it, the smaller creature managed to forego the fate of being utterly swallowed by the greater. Indeed, the metaphor is not altogether inappropriate for the relations between the little, but independent Harry Johnston, and the might of Cecil Rhodes. Dr. Hanna's use of original sources enables him to give a well-documented account of the initial cooperation and ultimate clashes between these two imperialists, out of which, in spite of all of his often prim and pedantic egotism, Harry Johnston will, for many readers, emerge as the better of the two. Previous memoirs and studies have had little, if anything, to say of the struggle between Rhodes and Johnston; and if, no doubt, Dr. Hanna's account of it leaves some questions unanswered, he has done British Central African historiography a valuable service by bringing it to the forefront.

Of some other points, however, Dr. Hanna's treatment is less satisfactory. Though his study goes some of the way towards satisfying the demand of the 1899 Blantyre literati for 'a book dealing thoroughly with the history of British Central Africa', it cannot be said that his work meets their requirement that 'such a work should deal not merely with the British Occupation but also with the history of the natives'. Naturally, one would not expect that in a study of 'the creation of new political unities, embryonic states, in the interior of tropical Africa' (p. v) there should be any detailed analysis of the African tribal cultures which the British encountered. Nevertheless, a little more of this background would have made some of Dr. Hanna's points more effective. When, for example, he remarks very correctly that the defeat of the Yao by the British was due, in part, to their 'complete inability to combine

in a single-minded effort to batter down the new régime in the weakness of its infancy', and to 'the disposition of the original inhabitants, the majority of the population, to withhold support from their Yao overlords' (p. 201), one feels the need for a greater account than Dr. Hanna gives of the characteristics of the Yao political system, and for a brief summary in the text of the points which are pertinent to his narrative from the work of Professor J. Clyde Mitchell, rather than a mere reference in a footnote (p. 9). Indeed, while there is growing evidence of the increasing interests of anthropologists in the use of historical sources in their work, Dr. Hanna's book does not show to any great advantage that historians are becoming conscious of the vast weight of anthropological material. It is true that Dr. Hanna has tried to acquire some of 'the elements of anthropology' (p. vii) but they are superficially displayed in his work; otherwise how could he write such a sentence as: 'In primitive barbarism, quite as much as in modern totalitarian barbarism, the individual counts for nothing, and collective society alone has status', with its old-fashioned and emotional uses of 'barbarism' and its elastic employment of 'status' (p. 60)? Elsewhere (p. 17), Dr. Hanna writes of 'the primitive African . . . understanding little of the laws of cause and effect', a misleading phrase which disguises the fact that, within their own terms of reference, the different African societies have their own very concrete conceptions of cause and effect. It would be wrong to suppose that Dr. Hanna has no sympathy with African peoples; yet there are times, one feels, in his laudable desire to be objective, when he sometimes gives this impression. For example, speaking of the arrival of Consul Hawes in Nyasaland in 1885 and the troubles which he found between Europeans and Africans, Dr. Hanna writes

> If relations between the white man and natives were steadily deteriorating, the fault, it is safe to say, rested chiefly with the natives . . . Such an assertion, made by a white man relying on the evidence of another white man, [the dispatches home of Consul Hawes, G.S.] may appear to have little weight: but the fact is that Hawes had no conceivable interest in misrepresenting the facts . . . (pp. 75–6).

This latter point may well be so. Yet surely the question is not that Hawes necessarily had any conscious intention of misrepresenting what he saw but of the manner in which he saw it? Indeed, in a footnote (p. 78) Dr. Hanna provides a standard for judging the value of Hawes' observations when he writes

> Hawes lacked all insight into the native idiom. W. P. Johnson relates that the consul, when visiting Mponda, said to Buchanan, who was acting as interpreter: 'Will you please tell the Chief that if he continues to act in this way there will be strained relations with the Foreign Office?'

This instance serves to illustrate what is at the same time a good point and a defect of Dr. Hanna's book: its heavy reliance on the

word of the Public Record Office documents. Clearly, such documents afford a basic source for the history of British Central Africa. Yet, because so much of that history has been made, in a characteristically British fashion, by non-official rather than official agencies, there is a whole tract of it which cannot be found in the official records. This is illustrated in Dr. Hanna's treatment of the Scottish missionaries, the founding fathers of British Central Africa. Owing, apparently, to wartime disorganization, Dr. Hanna had access to a very limited range of Scottish missionary records.[1] Therefore, he has relied largely upon the public documents, on the testimony of Johnston and others, for his account of the way in which the Scottish missionaries received the new civil administration. That this reception was by no means uncritical, and that it was frequently unco-operative, is true; and Dr. Hanna corrects the undue 'sweetness and light' picture which has been drawn by sentimentalists of the Scottish missions in Central Africa. But how true is it to say that 'the Blantyre Mission pursued a constant vendetta against the Administration and all its works' (p. 205)? Certainly, some of its members resented the threat to their traditional paternalism which they saw in the coming of Harry Johnston. But, as an examination of their missionary newspaper shows, their attitude was not one of total unco-operation.[2] In the main, their criticism of the newcomers was based on two points: the threat that Johnston's administration would become what Dr. Hanna, in another place (p. 226), calls 'a personal autocracy';[3] and their fear that such actions as Rhodes' subsidization of Johnston and his purchase of the greater part of the assets of the Scottish African Lakes Company represented the 'Cape colonization' of Nyasaland, the 'Rhodesian ring closing on our little colony'.[4]

Indeed, in his attempt to correct the over-sentimental picture of the Scottish missionaries, Dr. Hanna at times lets the pendulum swing too far in the opposite direction, and the result is a tendency in his work to undervalue the achievements of these missions. An outstanding example of this is his almost complete neglect of the distinctive missionary work on the African languages. The only

[1] A substantial group of foreign mission documents of the two main Scottish churches down to 1929 was transferred by the Church of Scotland from its wartime repository to the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, in 1953.

[2] See *L.W.B.C.A.*, 1891, June, p. 3, Aug., p. 8; 1893, March, p. 4, '. . . we would therefore table our contentment with the work done in this country by H.M. Government . . .'; 1894, pp. 5–6, etc.

[3] Cf. Albert Grey to Cecil Rhodes, 25th December, 1891 (Rhodes House, 3A, Charters 1889–91, 1891 Folio, 199a): 'I am afraid dear little H. H. Johnston is running ahead a bit too fast . . . I fear that there is some truth in the statement that he is adopting too largely objectionable German methods.'

[4] See *L.W.B.C.A.*, 1890, August, p. 2, October, pp. 2–3, November, p. 2, December, p. 7; 1891, March, p. 2, May, pp. 3–4, September, pp. 3–4, October, p. 3, November, p. 3; 1892, January, p. 3, June, 'extra supplement'; 1893, April, pp. 4–5, 8–9, May, pp. 7–8, June, pp. 6–7; 1894, July, p. 4; 1895, March, 2–3, p. 8, June, p. 5, etc.

mention of this is in a most indirect fashion : a reference to Johnson's praise of Buchanan for his knowledge of Yao (p. 204). Yet Buchanan had begun as a lay member of the Blantyre mission. Dr. Hanna correctly pays tribute to the significance in Central African history of the remarkable Blantyre church that was built by David Clement Scott ; yet on the other monument to Scott's genius, his 1892 Mang'anja dictionary, he is silent. (Had Dr. Hanna noted Scott's dictionary, he could not, presumably, have written, as he does on p. 60, of freed slaves that ' they had not even a word in their vocabulary with which to express ' their freedom.[1]) But without the missionaries' work on the African languages in the years before the assumption of a regular civil administration, not to mention the numbers of interpreters and workers they had trained in their schools, that administration would have found its work infinitely more difficult.[2]

Furthermore, there is no small element of Scottish nationalism in the acquisition and development of Nyasaland in Dr. Hanna's period and later. This expressed itself not merely in a feeling of pride in the achievements of David Livingstone and the Scottish missions in British Central Africa but also in a determination to defend and extend these achievements : in Scottish pressure-grouping at the Berlin Conference of 1884–5 ; in the campaigns all over Scotland in 1889–90 to keep the Portuguese out of Nyasaland ; in the recalcitrance of the Glasgow directorate of the African Lakes Company before the threat of complete absorption by the predominantly English British South Africa Company ; in the perfervid desire of the missionaries to keep Nyasaland free from the Company's control. Dr. Hanna goes some way towards illustrating this nationalistic feeling : he recognizes, for example, the divisions in the Scottish churches (p. 10) ; he points to the ' voice of Scotland ' behind the anti-Portuguese campaign (p. 138) ; and he quotes the South Africa Company's Duke of Abercorn on ' Scotch jealousies and cussedness ' (p. 180). But, as with other themes in his book, his remarks on this are scattered, and they never come together to give that distinctive Scottish flavour of pioneering Nyasaland.

Some of this, perhaps, is due to the fact that he found much better missionary material in the well-arranged records of the London Missionary Society, on which Dr. Hanna has written usefully elsewhere.[3] Dr. Hanna, indeed, always writes well on L.M.S. activities in the northern parts of the Nyasa regions. Yet, for other parts,

[1] David Clement Scott, *A Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language* (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 701, under ' Free ' ; and cf. p. 215, under ' Kapolo '. See also John Rebman, *Dictionary of the Kiniassa Language* (Basle, 1877), which Rebman began to gather from a Nyasa slave at Mombasa in 1854 (pp. iv–v) : p. 148, ' M-pfuru . . . *a free man* in contradist. from a slave . . .'

[2] Cf. James W. Jack, *Daybreak in Livingstonia* (Edinburgh, 1901), pp. 329–30.

[3] ' The Role of the London Missionary Society in the Opening Up of East Central Africa ', pp. 41–59, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1955).

his account of missionary activity is incomplete. This applies not only to the Scottish missions but also to the predominantly English Universities Mission to Central Africa. He has no mention, for example, of the Rev. Henry Rowley, a member of the first U.M.C.A. Nyasaland party, whose *The Story of the Universities Mission to Central Africa* (London, 1866) is not without value as a record of Bishop Mackenzie's party, and should, at least, have been mentioned in the bibliography; and whose pioneering, little comparative volume, *The Religion of the Africans* (London, 1877), owed its beginnings to his Nyasa experiences, and contains some points which throw light on African customs and beliefs in the early days of British penetration into Central Africa.[1] It is strange, too, that Dr. Hanna has a useful note on the Nyasaland White Fathers Mission which began in 1889 but which had to withdraw after eighteen months until it was able to start work again in 1902, and yet has no mention of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission that has had a continuous history in Nyasaland from 1889 onwards. And it is unfortunate that he has no mention of the group of missions that was introduced into Nyasaland by 1895 by the radical missionary from Australia, Joseph Booth: the Zambesi Industrial Mission, the Nyasa Industrial Mission and the Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland. These small missions have no unimportant place in the beginnings of African independent church movements not only for Nyasaland but also for Northern Rhodesia. One would not expect Dr. Hanna to say much about Booth, as he does not figure in the Public Records until the turn of the century. Yet the African radicalism which he precipitated in the Protectorate was a foretaste of future problems of race relations for the British administration and the business community in Nyasaland, and one wishes that a paragraph or two could have been given to him and the start of these problems.

In other places, in order to demonstrate lines of development, Dr. Hanna has wisely gone beyond his nominal limit of 1895. This is so in his treatment of the land situation in Nyasaland. Dr. Hanna gives a good account of Johnson's land settlement in the Protectorate, though it is unfortunate that he leaves some of his important points to footnotes (e.g. pp. 233 and 238–9). Because of this, one of the major aspects of the Nyasaland land situation is disguised in his work. This aspect is indicated in two places in Professor Debenham's book (pp. 94 and 103), in which he points out that the greater part of European land holdings in Nyasaland are in the hands of private companies and not individuals. Dr. Hanna refers in a footnote (p. 239) to the Beringer map of the Shire Highlands land settlement by 1896 but he in no way indicates how this demonstrates the great areas of land which had come under the control of private companies. One thinks, in particular,

[1] E.g. pp. 16–18, 46, 58–9, 98–9, 112–13, 117, 133–8, 141, 170–1, 174–6, 180–1, 188–9.

of the A. L. Bruce Estates which figure so predominantly in the Beringer map. It is notable that Dr. Hanna nowhere mentions the origins of these great Estates, though they fall well within his period, and they have a 'human interest' background in the facts that A. L. Bruce married Livingstone's daughter, Agnes, and that he was intimately associated with the African Lakes Company—indeed, Bruce was one of the Duke of Abercorn's 'cussed Scots' who made so difficult the British South Africa Company's utter absorption of the Scottish concern.[1] It may be because of his neglect of such large European economic units that accompanied the emergence of the British Protectorate over Nyasaland that Dr. Hanna's account of the African labour questions which had arisen by the mid-1890's is barely adequate (pp. 239–41), and that his very brief account (pp. 232–3) of the origins of the *tangata* system (to which he never refers by the name of *tangata* but only as a 'social problem') is not as clear as it might be.

In another place in which he goes beyond his formal period, in order to bring out lines of development, Dr. Hanna is also misleading. He states (pp. 244–5) that from '1912 onwards . . . the Nyasaland Administration moved by gradual and cautious steps towards the arrangements eventually embodied in the Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances of 1933, which were designed to employ to the full the traditional native organizations for all purposes of local government'. Yet to take 1912 as the start of this process seems unfortunate because this is the year of the District Administration (Native) Ordinance, 1912, which was described in the official Report for 1912–13 as a 'measure which . . . avoids the defects of the archaic system of tribal rule'; which was 'in no way intended to revivify or perpetuate government by native chiefs'; and which had to be repealed in 1924.[2] It is true that Dr. Hanna's authority here is Lord Hailey, who claims that the common 'contrast drawn between what is described as the earlier period of "direct rule", as embodied in the District Administration (Native) Ordinance of 1912, and the later period of "indirect rule" introduced by the Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances of 1933'[3] has been exaggerated. Nevertheless, the matter is a controversial one,[4] and one wishes that Dr. Hanna had indicated this briefly in a footnote.

Elsewhere, one might comment on certain other emphases and omissions in Dr. Hanna's book: but these will be considered later

[1] A. L. Bruce, *The Cape-to-Cairo: or Britain's sphere of influence in Africa* (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 23.

[2] S. S. Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland* (London, 1932), pp. 129–36.

[3] *Native Administration, II*, p. 27.

[4] Cf. also apparent contradiction in *Handbook of Nyasaland*, 1922 edition, 'The system of administration is giving excellent results. . . . It restores and regulates the power and authority of the chiefs' (p. 63); and 1932 edition—1919 planters' deputation complained, 'No respect was shown to any of the Chiefs' (p. 134).

because it is convenient to discuss them together with kindred points about Mr. Gann's work. Nevertheless, there is one further aspect of Dr. Hanna's book which deserves special mention: his treatment of Johnston's ally, whom Dr. Hanna terms his 'model Arab' (p. 154), the Jumbe of Kota-Kota. He has several references to Jumbe, which illustrate his participation in the slave trade and his support for the Administration. But nowhere are these brought together, so that some consideration might be made of Johnston's sweeping claim that Jumbe's support of the British cause 'turned the whole tide of Arab feeling in Nyasa and Tanganyika in our favour'.[1] Dr. Hanna goes no further than to say that Jumbe 'was powerful enough to be a dangerous enemy and a useful friend, and Johnston was determined to conciliate him' (p. 150). Yet even here Dr. Hanna does not bring out the full flavour of the episode: though he mentions the bottle of Chartreuse with which Johnston began his wooing of Jumbe in 1889, he gives no indication of the bizarre and colourful collection of commodities which Johnston presented to Jumbe in 1890 as a seal of this friendship: the clariphone (barrel organ), lion trap, concertinas, toilet set (listed as 'one set of bedroom crockery'), etc.[2]

Above all, where Dr. Hanna's book lacks balance is in the predominance in it of political, diplomatic and constitutional history over economic history. This is not to say that he does not deal with economic matters: but it is significant to note here that his index does not mention, for example, gold, ivory, rubber, copper, coal or coffee: all of them commodities in which there was an intense interest in Nyasaland and allied business circles in the mother country. His notice of prospecting in the British Central Africa regions is scant. He gives, to be sure, references to such observations as Joseph Thomson's belief that the Northern Rhodesian plateau was rich in gold (p. 159). But he has made no attempt to track down the less well-known prospecting and economic ventures in British Central Africa, which, when they are all brought together, demonstrate that until the end of the nineteenth century, at least, there were hopes that Nyasaland would go some of the way towards catching up with its neighbours to the South as a centre for mineral exploitation. For example, he has no mention of Cecil Rhodes' elder brother, Herbert, and his prospecting activities in the Nyasaland of the late 1870's, or of the African Lakes Company's prospecting subsidiary in which Rhodes held a hundred shares, the Scottish Exploration Company, a short-lived venture which lasted from 2nd July, 1889, to 23rd October, 1891. All this means that one sometimes wonders what the Europeans were doing in Central Africa at all, other than converting reluctant Africans to Christianity and quarrelling among themselves. This is not to ask for a direct

[1] F.O. 84/2061. Africa No. 7, 1st February, 1890.
[2] F.O. 84/2051. Africa No. 24, 21st April, 1890.

economic interpretation of the British in the Nyasa regions ; [1] yet, from the time when Livingstone linked commerce with Christianity as a liberating agency in Central Africa, the economic motive in the British entry into these regions has been much greater than Dr. Hanna would lead one to suppose. In his bibliography, he may deter the prospective reader from James W. Jack's *Daybreak in Livingstonia. The Story of the Livingstonia Mission, British Central Africa* (Edinburgh, 1901) by his remark that ' its sanctimoniousness is rather fatiguing '. Yet Jack's work has more account than Dr. Hanna's of European economic activities in British Central Africa —and it also includes a useful, if slightly idealized, statement on the African economies of the Shire Highlands before the arrival of the missionaries.

Dr. Hanna's bibliography, indeed, is one of the most disappointing sections of his book. The reader of a pioneering work of this kind would seem to have the right to ask that its bibliography should be more comprehensive and systematic than, in fact, it is. One thinks immediately of another pioneering study in the British Central African field : Dr. J. A. Barnes' *Politics in a Changing Society. A Political History of the Fort Jameson Ngoni* (London, 1954). Dr. Barnes' bibliography is a model work. It is significant that it is thirty-six pages in length compared with Dr. Hanna's four pages. This indicates the much greater range of detail which Dr. Barnes gives. When one casts one's eye over his bibliography, one really gets the impression that, in spite of their remoteness, the British Central African regions have produced no inconsiderable body of literature and documentation. This is certainly not the impression which one gets from Dr. Hanna's bibliography. Unlike Dr. Barnes, Dr. Hanna has not repeated systematically his primary sources in his bibliography but has left the reader to dig them out of his footnotes. This procedure, no doubt, can be defended ; but it does have the disadvantage of not enabling the reader to take in at a glance the range of primary sources that have been used : a procedure which has much to commend it in a pioneering study like Dr. Hanna's. Furthermore, such a study, it would seem, has some obligation to acquaint the reader with at least the outlines of sources that have not been used. Yet all that Dr. Hanna says on this score is contained in a brief footnote which points out that ' It is one of the limitations of this work that foreign sources (particularly Portuguese) have not been drawn upon. The British sources that I am conscious of not having used are the Salisbury Papers (Hatfield) and the Johnston papers (Central African Archives) ' (p. 270). One would have thought, however, that, although he

[1] For opposed points of view on British Central Africa and economic imperialism, cf. Reginald Ivan Lovell, *The Struggle for South Africa 1875–1899. A Study in Economic Imperialism* (New York, 1934), especially pp. 203–4 ; and Richard Koebner, ' The Concept of Economic Imperialism ', *Economic History Review*, II, i, 1949, especially pp. 8–15.

obviously could not have included any long note on the resources of the Central African Archives, Dr. Hanna would have drawn the attention of the future worker in this field of British colonial history a little more cogently to this important documentary collection. A simple reference to such of the Archives' publications as *Central African Archives in Retrospect and Prospect, 1935–47* (Salisbury, 1947) would have been sufficient. (Indeed, if Dr. Hanna had noted this work, he would have found that it gives for the Secretariat fire at Zomba which destroyed so much local official correspondence a different date from that of 1923 with which his Colonial Office correspondent provided him—p. 270: *Central African Archives*, p. 47, gives this date as 1919.) Also, since so many records, as Dr. Hanna rightly notes, of the missions and companies have been destroyed or lost, it would have been helpful for the future student if Dr. Hanna, in his list of books, could have given some indication of those secondary works which used papers that subsequently have been lost: James W. Jack and W. P. Livingstone for Livingstonia, for example; H. Marshall Hole for the British South Africa Company and early Rhodesia. The space thus used would have been more valuably employed than some of Dr. Hanna's rather condescending comments on the books in his bibliography, which sometimes may have the effect of deterring the reader from consulting a particular work. It should not, either, have been difficult for Dr. Hanna to have given for those who might be interested a simple reference to some major Portuguese sources [1] or to have drawn attention to the useful note on Portuguese materials at the end of Miss M. V. Jackson's book which he mentions in his bibliography. There are, indeed, one or two gaps in Dr. Hanna's account of relevant books in English on the Portuguese background which are surprising in view of the fact that, from the London Public Record Office sources, he has, in his text, given a useful survey of Anglo-Portuguese relations for his period: in particular the two two-volume works by, respectively, the first British Consul in Mozambique, John Lyons McLeod (who is mentioned by Dr. Hanna, pp. 51–2), *Travels in Eastern Africa, with the Narrative of a Residence in Mozambique* (London, 1860), and A. de Serpa Pinto (also mentioned by Dr. Hanna, pp. 137, 143–4 and 155), *How I Crossed Africa* (London, 1881).

A defect of Dr. Hanna's bibliography is that it pays little or no attention to the periodical and more ephemeral publications on and about the British Central African scene. These fall into four groups: newspapers; official and semi-official periodical publications; periodical missionary literature; and the publications of geographical societies and commercial bodies. Such literature often contains, because of the great losses of British Central African records, information which is otherwise unobtainable. Dr. Hanna's

[1] E.g. Charles E. Nowell's useful short article, 'Portugal and the Partition of Africa', *The Journal of Modern History* (Chicago), XIX, 1, 1947, pp. 1–17.

bibliography does not mention any Nyasaland newspaper, either its regular one, *The Central African Planter*, or its periodicals, which, if they were mainly devoted to other ends, also looked upon themselves as purveyors of news: the *British Central Africa Gazette* and the Protectorate's missionary 'newspapers'. While some of these were founded after 1895, they often contain memoirs and amateur historical efforts which are valuable for the pre-1895 period, as Dr. Barnes demonstrates in his work on the Ngoni. It is, however, surprising that Dr. Hanna gives no indication of the resources of the *Parliamentary Debates*, for Nyasaland affairs have never been absent at Question Time. It is also unfortunate that he does not point out the scope of the journals and proceedings of the geographical societies (the Royal, the Scottish, and the Manchester) or of the proceedings of the British Association, for they were often used as platforms for explorers 'reporting-back', and for enthusiasts airing their pet projects, and sometimes as platforms for not uninterested, economic propaganda. Even if the full range of such literature could not have been indicated, a short reference to some of the indexes which exist, and particularly to the useful listing of articles on many Central African themes for this period in the Subject Catalogue of the Royal Empire Society, would have opened up a vast range of material for the student. Fundamentally, however, Dr. Hanna's most unfortunate omission in his bibliography is his lack of reference to the Blantyre missionaries' journal which, as has been noted, would have supplemented his account of their clashes with the new Administration. If Dr. Hanna has no mention of this, it would be too much to expect that he should mention the journals of the lesser missions: the occasional papers, for example, of the Zambesi Industrial Mission which began publication in 1892, and which contain some powerful examples of Joseph Booth's early radicalism, as well as criticisms of the established missions which do not always contradict what Johnston had to say about them. And while one would hardly expect that Dr. Hanna would tackle the thankless task of checking whole files of Scottish newspapers, a bibliographical reference to the resources of some of them, perhaps, for key periods in which Caledonian Nyasaland fervour was at its height would have been pertinent. *The Scotsman*, for example, often has some by no means negligible British Central African material. Furthermore, if the bibliography had been drawn up with an eye on giving guidance to the intending student of British Central African history, it would have been necessary to include in it *The Nyasaland Journal*, the *Northern Rhodesia Journal* and *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*. One wishes, here, that a little 'stop-press' work had been possible to provide for the inclusion in Dr. Hanna's bibliography of Mr. Gann's valuable article, "The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa, 1889–1912' in the 1954 (Number 16) issue of *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*.

Clearly, it was not possible to get Dr. Barnes' book into the

bibliography in time. If this could have been done, a reference to his bibliography would have enabled Dr. Hanna to give an indication of much valuable background literature, particularly in the field of tribal history. However, it should have been possible to include a reference to the bibliography of Miss Mary Tew's *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region* (London, 1950), which would give the student a very handy brief account of many of the sources for the tribal background. And amongst other books and pamphlets which might have been indicated are the following: John Buchanan, *East African Letters* (Edinburgh, 1880); Henry Drummond, *Tropical Africa* (London, 1889); three brief works which add to the documentation of the African Lakes Company, whose records as Dr. Hanna notes (p. 270) are not available—Jane F. Moir, *A Lady's Letters from Central Africa* (Glasgow, 1891), A. L. Bruce's pamphlet, *The Cape-to-Cairo: or Britain's Sphere of Influence* (Edinburgh, 1892), and Fred L. M. Moir's article, 'The Story of the African Lakes Company' in Leo Weinthal's *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and Route from 1887–1922* (London, 1923) I, pp. 441 449; two useful sources which give some of the background of Joseph Booth's entry into British Central Africa and also lively accounts of the early 1890's in Nyasaland—James Johnston, *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa* (London, 1893), and the book by Booth's daughter (who accompanied him into the Shire Highlands in 1892) which appears to be the only work in British Central African literature that is written from a child's point of view, Emily Booth Langworthy's *This Africa Was Mine* (Stirling, 1952). And one must also add that Dr. Hanna mentions only one pamphlet by that inveterate pamphleteer and 'pressure-grouper' for Nyasaland good causes: Horace Waller.

To have extended the bibliography in this manner would have meant the extension of the volume by several pages but the service that it would have performed for the future student of British Central African history, who takes up Dr. Hanna's book as a guide to work in this field, would have been invaluable. As it is, even for those readers who will not use Dr. Hanna's book as a research tool, the gaps in his bibliography have deprived them of some good, additional reading.

Nevertheless, in spite of the detailed criticisms of the kind which have been made above—the inevitable result that any pioneering work must face, and the stimulation of which is by no means the least of its services—both classes of readers, specialist and general, will gain much from Dr. Hanna's book. If it is by no means the last word in its field, it should bring to the cognizance of generations avid for information on Africa, who have been but sadly served until very recently by the professional historian, the salient points of that field, and should encourage the exploration of features in the British Central African sphere which Dr. Hanna has failed to notice or has passed by all too quickly.

IV

In spite of its title, Mr. L. H. Gann's *The Birth of a Plural Society. The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* will be of value not only to the reader with Rhodesian horizons but also to the student of Nyasaland; and, indeed, it will have no small interest for students of African affairs in general and of comparative colonial history. Not only does Mr. Gann's book carry on the story of one branch of British Central African interests from the point, roughly, where Dr. Hanna's work ends. It also includes material which supplements some of the topics within Dr. Hanna's own period (e.g. a useful indication of where to find conveniently amongst British South Africa Company sources a financial history of the African Lakes Company, footnote 3, p. 54). Further, it illuminates Nyasaland lines of development that originate in this period but are often only faintly indicated, if at all, in Dr. Hanna's work (e.g. the Nyasa labour migration and the spread of Chinyanja as an important *lingua franca* into Northern Rhodesia, pp. 35–6, 109–10, 173, etc.). Mr. Gann's book draws on a wide range of sources, official and unofficial, in English, French, German, Portuguese and Afrikaans, and he has been fortunate enough to have received permission from the Colonial Office and the Northern Rhodesia Government to go beyond the normal 1902 limit in perusing some of their records. Yet, despite the wide range of material which he covers, Mr. Gann never allows this to dominate him and to expand his writing to unmanageable proportions. His book is remarkably succinct but, at the same time, very readable. It is cogently arranged; combines judiciously political, constitutional, social and economic factors; and comes to a stimulating conclusion in which parallels and points of difference between Northern Rhodesia and other colonial communities in Africa, America and Europe are drawn.

In this preface, Mr. Gann points out that he has 'concentrated on local developments, rather than on the political and diplomatic background overseas'. He gives, however, just enough of this background to put these local developments into their proper perspective and to prevent that historical myopia which so often characterizes works with a predominantly local focus. This local emphasis, together with his own acquaintance with the relevant anthropological literature and his work and discussion with former colleagues at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, where Mr. Gann was sometime Research Officer, means that his study never neglects the African inhabitants of his area. No doubt the anthropologist will have his own criticisms to make on particular points of Mr. Gann's account of these peoples; but, in general, one must say that within the space at his disposal, he has successfully employed anthropological criteria to evaluate and elucidate his historical evidence. In this respect, one must note that Mr. Gann is no study-bound

historian, and that he has undertaken his own appropriate field work in the interviews that he has had with some twenty Northern Rhodesian pioneers who entered the country before 1914.

In view of the wide range of sources, alive and dead, that he has consulted, and the very evident interest which he displays in the comparison of certain aspects of Northern Rhodesian history with similar developments in other colonial and semi-colonial societies, it seems but natural that Mr. Gann should use very often the term 'frontier' and that he should make frequent comparisons of the unrolling of the Northern Rhodesian frontier with its American counterpart. Indeed, did not an American, writing at the end of Mr. Gann's period, refer to Rhodesia as 'the last of the world's frontiers'?[1] Yet Mr. Gann's employment of the frontier concept has come, it seems, not from a study of the American historical controversy that has been stimulated by the discussion of the late Frederick Jackson Turner's writings on the significance of the frontier in American history,[2] but by the reflection and extension of this concept in, very properly, the writings of Professor W. K. Hancock (cf. pp. 22 and 126, footnotes). Mr. Gann, indeed, adds to Hancock's elaboration of this predominantly American concept when he coins what appears to be a new contribution to frontier terminology, the 'gun-frontier' (pp. 13, 191), and employs this concept to throw light on the slave trade and the introduction of the gun into Central Africa. Some of Mr. Gann's points on the unholy trinity of gun, slavery and ivory in Central Africa were anticipated informally in the book by the former Yankee trader at Zanzibar, Ernest D. Moore, *Ivory—Scourge of Africa* (New York, 1936)—'"Binduki Sultani ya Bara Bara" (The gun is the King of Africa) . . . said Tippoo Tib's men' (Moore, p. 55, etc.)—to which Mr. Gann does not refer, either in his footnotes or bibliography. But Mr. Gann's employment of frontier concepts, although incidental to a broader purpose, breaks new ground. Following the American frontier controversy, British Imperial historians have written illuminatingly on their own frontiers in Australia, Canada, and elsewhere; but with three main exceptions,[3] few of them have used the frontier concept seriously for the study of European settlement in Africa. Mr. Gann's work in this field, therefore, gives his book an interest for the methodology of colonial and pioneering history; and because of this, one hopes that it will not be neglected by American historians and readers.

As one would expect in such a new study, some of Mr. Gann's frontier points are open to dispute. When, for example, he writes

[1] E. Alexander Powell, *The Last Frontier* (London, 1913), p. 222.

[2] For concentrated bibliography of the American frontier theory, see *Harvard Guide to American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 21.

[3] Hancock, *op. cit.* in Gann; Eric A. Walker, *The Frontier Tradition in South Africa* (London, 1930); C. W. DeKiewiet, 'The Frontier and the Constitution in South Africa' in *The Constitution Reconsidered* (New York, 1938), ed. Conyers Read.

(p. 144) that ' once the frontier closed ', there was no longer any place for the Afrikaner ' bywoner ' or poor white in Northern Rhodesian society, one feels that he is using the term ' frontier ' rather narrowly in this context—for, clearly, there is a sense in which the fronter is still open in Northern Rhodesia. Some of his comparisons with the American frontier process, too, are questionable. Were ' the well-developed techniques of the Bantu ' so much more advanced than those of the Red Indians, as he appears to imply (p. 180) ? And how far is his statement that ' Rhodesia, both north and south of the Zambezi, also differed from the United States in not developing into a national melting pot to the same extent ' correct (p. 177) ? It may be true that some of the Rhodesian national minority groups, like the Afrikaners and Yiddish speaking Jews, did not ' find a national framework firmly established when they arrived in Africa ', such as some of the immigrants into the United States discovered. But all American immigrant groups of this period (the so-called ' New Immigration ') did not find secure communities of their own nationals firmly settled in America to cushion the shocks of their absorption into a new society ; and a case could be made out, both then and now, to demonstrate that, in its dominating white layers, the United States does not present the unified society which the analogy of the melting pot too often suggests. One might claim, indeed, that the similarities between American and Rhodesian immigrant problems are as great as, if not greater than, their differences. And while Mr. Gann is no doubt right in pointing out that ' The Bantu were never idealized overseas like the North American Red Indians ' (p. 181), the comparison can be overdrawn. Admittedly, Central Africa has not yet produced its Fenimore Cooper. Yet Rider Haggard did not ignore these regions ; and Mr. Gann has to admit that the ' Zulu were sometimes more highly esteemed than the remaining Bantu ' (p. 181). A survey of the missionary literature of the second half of the nineteenth century and later reveals a certain idealization of the Bantu, particularly of groups or individuals like Livingstone's Makololo and Joseph Thomson's romanticized Chagga maiden, Ulu, who were closely associated with European figures ; and the noble as much as the ignoble Central African savage appears in contemporary fiction. But all these are relatively small points by comparison with the generally illuminating manner in which Mr. Gann uses examples from America and other societies beyond Africa to illustrate his analysis of the growth of Northern Rhodesian society.

His analysis of this is excellent. Though he apologizes for his inability to do justice to the missionary contribution in the space at his disposal (p. xix), with some exceptions which will be noted later, he gives a good account of the missionary in Northern Rhodesia. To those who are better acquainted with the results of missionary work in other parts of Africa, his conclusions on this theme should serve as a much-needed caution against supposing that

the missionary everywhere brought about fundamental changes rapidly in African societies. As Mr. Gann points out, so much depends on the character of those societies

> Only where there was already a highly diversified economic system in existence, as in Barotseland, was the native economy greatly enriched by (missionary) industrial training . . . the missionary . . . detached individuals only from their tribal cultures . . . (which) as a whole, however, were affected to a much lesser extent by missionary endeavour and the task of transforming them was completed ultimately by other and more numerous groups of European immigrants (pp. 42–3).

On these other immigrants, whether of the Administration or as private settlers, in their various roles, Mr. Gann writes wisely. His account of the beginnings of labour sentiment and organization in Northern Rhodesia may be particularly commended, though it is, perhaps, a pity that he does not give something of the feeling of first fine careless rapture with socialism in Northern Rhodesia—after all, the *Livingstone Mail* of 6th June, 1908, did discuss socialism with reference to North Western Rhodesia and the British South Africa Company, quote Jack London's *Revolution*, and remark, ' What wonder if the revolution is coming. . . .' Such sentiments, of course, were temporary in the extreme; but they do give the feeling of the individuality and utopianism, as well as of the irresponsibility and ' lunatic fringe ' which seem to characterize all frontiers. One criticism which may be made of Mr. Gann's otherwise excellent account of the growth of the Northern Rhodesian European community is that it is an analysis mainly into groups: a procedure which is obviously justified but which may have the defect of disguising some of the colour which highly individualistic individuals often give to small, frontier communities. Of one of these individuals, the late Sir L. F. Moore, founder of the *Livingstone Mail*, Mr. Gann gives a good account. But other ' characters ', such as the late Mr. H. T. (Chiana) Harrington or Mr. J. E. (Chirupula) Stephenson, are but lightly sketched, if at all. This may be due to a reaction against the traditional ' memoirs ' type of writing by European pioneers in Africa—though, as Mr. Gann points out, there are very few published reminiscences of Northern Rhodesia (p. xviii)—and some of it may be due to the fact that some of these individuals and their families are still alive; and, obviously, one must not ask for too much. But the result is that while Mr. Gann provides an excellent etching of the elements of European society in Northern Rhodesia, much of the detail is missing and there is little colour.

Three other places where the emphasis is slight deserve mention. First, though Mr. Gann's book is very good as an outline economic history of early Northern Rhodesia, there is one gap: hardly any consideration of the role of the European hunter. Secondly, although he is very thorough in his examination of the part played

by the British South Africa Company in the growth of the territory, he has but little consideration of the impact of overseas criticism on the Company, or, indeed, of the overseas' picture of Rhodesia as an incentive or as a deterrent to interest in, and to immigration into, the territory. He has a brief mention (p. 103) of the allegations that were made against the Company by the Aborigines Protection Society, and of the anxiety of the Company to improve its fact-finding service in Rhodesia in order to reply to its critics at home; but that is all. Again, some of the colour is missing: the activities of individuals like Olive Schreiner and Wilfred Scawen Blunt in mobilizing opinion against Rhodes are absent. And, thirdly, Mr. Gann passes lightly by the schemes that were projected, largely on the Nyasaland side of the border, for a union of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia against possible encroachments from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It was largely a missionary dream; as the Scottish missionaries at Blantyre noted at the end of the Boer War: 'The next turn of the Imperial Kaleidoscope in Africa will no doubt show an Imperial South Africa (to include Southern Rhodesia, G.S.) and a Central African Protectorate comprising the whole of British Central Africa and Barotseland under our own government'.[1] And, as a dream, there was in it at this time something of the nightmare which the Nyasaland missionaries had experienced in the early 1890's when they feared that Cecil Rhodes was going to absorb the Protectorate.

Finally, attention must be drawn to the excellence of Mr. Gann's bibliography. Though he refers to it as a 'Select Bibliography' it goes into a considerable amount of detail both for primary and secondary sources, and provides a good guide to future historical research in this field. It might, perhaps, have been improved if Mr. Gann had indicated a little more clearly where the British official papers which he has used at second-hand in the Central African Archives appear in the Public Record Office, London, for many future students will want to begin their work in Great Britain before going out to Africa. His list of newspapers, too, would have gained by a reference to the *Central African Planter*, the *Beira Post*, and *Life and Work in British Central Africa*, which has as much, if not more value for this field than the Livingstonia *Aurora* which Mr. Gann rightly notes. It would also have helped the student if he had indicated that some of Emil Holub's work also exists in English. The only other gaps noted in Mr. Gann's bibliography concern the literature of the Congo regions that border on Northern Rhodesia and the publications of the lesser-known, more sectarian missions.

But these will be considered when an examination is made in the next section of this article of four fields in which it is convenient to consider together a number of points from all three of the books

[1] *L.W.B.C.A.*, February, 1900, p. 4.

that have been reviewed. It only remains to say, by way of conclusion on Mr. Gann's study, that most of the omissions and places of under-emphasis which have been noted in it are obviously known to him and that for reasons of space—his book was originally written for publication as a Rhodes-Livingstone Paper—he has been obliged to leave them out. Nevertheless, his book remains a most effective introduction to the history of Northern Rhodesia and one that will not be surpassed quickly.

V

The four fields in which it is convenient to consider together a number of points from all three of these books are : first, the figure of Cecil Rhodes' elder brother, Herbert, the possible effects of whose activities in Nyasaland on drawing his brother's horizon north of the Zambezi are noted by none of them ; secondly, the role of the Katanga regions in the expansion and contraction of the British Central Africa dream which is not given the emphasis by Dr. Hanna and Mr. Gann it may warrant ; thirdly, the role of the smaller, less orthodox missions in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, which is given some consideration by Mr. Gann but is only touched upon by Professor Debenham (p. 131) and is completely ignored by Dr. Hanna ; and, fourthly, the importance of photographs, drawings and paintings as a record of British Central African history. Each of these points will now be considered in turn.

(1) *Herbert Rhodes.* When one considers the increasing interest in the life and legend of Cecil Rhodes for over half a century, it is strange that more attention has not been paid to his elder brother, Herbert, who went out to South Africa before him, and on whose cotton farm Cecil Rhodes stayed for a year after his landing at Natal in 1870. By piecing together scraps of information,[1] the following tentative picture of Herbert Rhodes is obtained.

In addition to cotton farming in South Africa, he had done well in the gold and diamond business there. In 1876, he went up the Zambezi with three practised Australian diggers in search of gold. It seems that Herbert Rhodes hoped then to extend his prospecting

[1] As well as references on pp. 37–8, the following sources may be noted : F.O. 84/1448 : Slave Trade, No. 17, Mozambique, 18th July, 1876 ; F.O. 84/1479 : Slave Trade, No. 4, 3rd February, 1877 and No. 40, 17th September, 1877, etc. ; Waller Papers (Rhodes House), III, 128, 30th April, 1877, and 129, 16th June, 1877 ; J. Frederick Elton, *Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Central Africa* (London, 1879), *passim*, and pp. 247–9, 269–71, 311–15, 391–3 ; W. P. Livingstone, *Laws of Livingstonia* (London, 1921), pp. 109, 125. Amongst standard Rhodes lives, see Sir Lewis Michell (London, 1912), pp. 10, 12–15, 18–19 ; Gordon de Suer (London, 1914), pp. 7–8 ; J. G. McDonald (London, 1927), pp. 3–5, 12–13, 23, 27, 48–9 ; Basil Williams (London, 1938), 7–8, 10–13, 27, 29–31, 35–6, 70, 107, 146, 204 ; such biographies give little detailed attention to Herbert Rhodes' British Central African experiences.

directly into the Lake Nyasa regions ; but fever and a hostile reception from some Zambezi tribes drove him back to the coast after fifteen months. Nevertheless, Rhodes and his men had discovered payable alluvial diggings in the sand of the Mazoe river about a hundred miles south-west of Tete and had reported on the prospects of gold in other parts of the Portuguese Zambezi sphere. His experiences appear to have taught Herbert Rhodes two things : first, that, because of the hostility of the tribes ' in the country of Situngu, a Maviti chief, [and elsewhere] . . . it [gold working] would be impossible for any but a strongly armed body of men prepared to fight their way and settle down and work for gold in the country ' ; [1] and, secondly, that, though the Portuguese had no firm control up-country, it was necessary to keep on good terms with them, even if this meant turning a blind eye to their slaving activities which he himself had witnessed.

For part of the way back to the coast, Rhodes travelled with Robert Laws from Livingstonia who was then on his way to Quilimane. ' Amid the stories of college and later roving years he gave some account of his brother Cecil, a university student in not very robust health . . . who saw opportunities for money-making in many ways by means of combining rival parties into great undertakings'. [2] Back at the coast in the early months of 1877, Herbert Rhodes made trips to Natal and Zanzibar ; and then by June he was ready to accompany the British consul at Mozambique, Frederick Elton, on his Nyasa expedition.

As a member of this expedition, Rhodes took some part in the delimitation of the north end of Lake Nyasa. But his eye was more on business prospects than pure geography. In July, he inspected with Elton the experimental cultivation of opium at Mazaro on their way up the Zambezi. He may have shared Elton's view that this new Portuguese enterprise threatened an ' important source of Imperial Indian revenue ' ; he certainly believed that it ' would apparently lead to the extensive cultivation of opium on the Zambesi '.[3] Elephant hunting and an interest in ivory occupied him continually—and on one occasion nearly cost him his eyes when a round exploded in the chamber of his gun. Later, in 1878, Rhodes discovered coal in a small stream a few miles to the south of Mount Waller.[4] This discovery may have been incidental to the search for gold which he carried on throughout the expedition : ' . . . the natives wondered at Mr. Rhodes. They said he spent all his time looking at stones. He would break off a piece of rock

[1] F.O. 84/1479 : No. 8, General slave trade report, 6th April, 1877.
[2] *Aurora*, 1st April, 1902, p. 66.
[3] F.O. 84/1479 : No. 38, Morumbala Mountain, 16th July, 1877.
[4] *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (London), I, Robert Laws, ' Journey along Part of the Western Side of Lake Nyassa, 1878 ', pp. 311–12 ; III, James Stewart, ' Lake Nyassa, and the Water Route to the Lake Regions of Africa ', pp. 264–5 ; Henry Drummond, *Tropical Africa* (London, 1889), pp 186–8 ; W. P. Livingstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–4.

and look at it and then raise his eyes to heaven. *They* thought him crazy.' [1]

The effective end of the expedition came with Elton's death on 19th December; and Rhodes officiated at his funeral. Two years later, in November, 1879, Herbert Rhodes also died. It seems that he had gone back into the Nyasa regions with a load of trade goods on a private venture. This load included a consignment of spirits; and while Rhodes was sitting in a hut with Ramakukan, a Makololo chief, a demi-john of it by some means exploded, Rhodes was caught in the flames and died of burns.[2] The episode has led to some speculation by both Europeans and Africans that the death was not altogether accidental; yet 'Roza', as Africans called him, had a reputation for popularity among the local peoples, and Elton himself noted that he maintained 'the best relations with the natives'.[3]

Thus, when the brief but exciting period that Herbert Rhodes was connected with British Central Africa is considered, the comment that was made by a Blantyre missionary on Cecil Rhodes does not seem altogether out of order: 'Some say that the memory of his brother who lies buried by the Shire River drew his thoughts in our direction.' [4] Cecil Rhodes, indeed, had a personal as well as a political connection with Central Africa; and this link deserves more attention and exploration than it has yet had from writers on these regions.

(2) *Katanga and the British Central Africa dream.* Neither Dr. Hanna nor Mr. Gann altogether neglect Congo issues which bear on early British Central Africa. If Dr. Hanna is sometimes misleading on them—his statement, for example, that the United States 'adopted' the 1885 Berlin Act (p. 224),[5] and his neglect of the deep interest which Nyasaland Scottish interests took in the Berlin and Brussels Conference [6]—he shows briefly the general way in which

[1] Kerr-Cross, 'Reminiscences of Karonga', *Central African Times*, 26th August, 1899, p. 6.

[2] F.O. 84/1564: Slave Trade, No. 4, 1st January, 1880. Accounts of the means of Herbert Rhodes' death by burning differ: W. P. Livingstone, *op. cit*, p. 176, 'rum'; S. G. Millin, *Rhodes* (London, 1933), p. 5, 'gin'; J. G. McDonald, *op. cit*., pp. 48–9 and Johnston, *British Central Africa*, (London, 1898), p. 67, have no mention of spirits. The date of Herbert Rhodes' death seems most exact in Basil Williams, *op. cit*., p. 36. Sir Harry Johnston gives two conflicting dates: 1880 in *British Central Africa*, p. 67; 1877 in ed. Leo Weinthal *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway* (London, 1923), I, p. 73.

[3] F.O. 84/1479: No. 41, 13th October, 1877; Johnston, *op. cit*., p. 67.

[4] *L.W.B.C.A*., February, 1900, p. 3.

[5] Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1947), p. 578: 'The United States had never ratified the Berlin Act . . . although it continued in treaty relations with the Congo Free State until its absorption by Belgium.'

[6] E.g. F.O. 84/1809: to W. MacKinnon, 4th January, 1884; at end, James Stevenson, note on Congo treaty and correspondence, and other Nyasa materials. F.O. 84/1810: to James Stevenson, 25th March, 1884; Glasgow Chamber of

these affected the emergence of the new British states in Central Africa. He indicates, in passing, that ' Rhodes and Johnston were both anxious to acquire Katanga ' (p. 157); and in four succinct pages (157–61) he sketches the consequences of Thomson's and Sharpe's expeditions to Msidi's country in 1890. Mr. Gann notes briefly the power of Msidi (p. 13), the entry of the first British missionaries into Katanga (pp. 21, 27), and the Thomson and Sharpe expeditions (pp. 56–7). His mention, moreover, of the formation of the important Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. in 1899 (p. 120) suggests the way in which, after the incorporation of the Katanga regions into a great Central African state could be ruled out because of the Foreign Office's unwillingness to go beyond the letter of the Berlin Act, British capital secured a firm footing in the area.

Yet the very succinctness with which both Dr. Hanna and Mr. Gann have dealt with these issues means that many points of a highly interesting story are left out of their narratives: the letter from Msidi to Sharpe which asked him to return to his country but which fell, instead, into the hands of Stairs, leader of the rival Belgian expedition;[1] the fervent desire of Johnston to secure Katanga for Britain, and his invective against those who stood in his way;[2] the fact that the interest of the British South Africa Company and Johnston in the Katanga regions spurred on the Belgians to effective control over Msidi's domains;[3] and a whole sequence of details connected with the unsavoury Stairs expedition, on which John Galsworthy seems to have based his 1924 drama, *The Forest*, that appears to be the one major play on a British Central African theme. Many of these points are put together conveniently in a Belgian work, René J. Cornet's *Katanga. Le Katanga avant les Belges et l'Expédition Bia-Francqui-Cornet* (Brussels, 1946), and it is unfortunate that neither Dr. Hanna nor Mr. Gann refers to this, for it would have provided a useful supplement to their own studies in which, perhaps for reasons of space as much

Commerce, March 26, 15th April, 23, etc. F.O. 84/1811: Stevenson, 15th May, 1884, etc. F.O. 84/1815: Stevenson to Granville, 9th December, 1884. F.O. 84/1817, Stanley, London, 9th December, 1884, ' I have just got MacKinnon to see the Govt. people here . . .' F.O. 84/1818: Anderson in No. 263, Africa, 22nd December, 1884, on Laws and Livingstonia. Jack, *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, pp. 203, 222.

[1] G. E. Tilsey, *Dan Crawford Missionary and Pioneer in Central Africa* (London, 1929), p. 197; Auguste Verbeken, *Msiri* (Brussels, 1956), pp. 210–12.

[2] E.g. F.O. 84/2052: Johnston to Currie, 28th June, 1890. Rhodes House, 3A, Charters, 1889–1891, 1890: 18, Johnston to Rhodes, 25th July, ' I have been trying very hard to get the Garenganze [Katanga] . . . show more sign of life '. F.O. 2/54: Johnston to Anderson, 20th June, 1893: ' Cameron is a paid agent of that crafty fox of Belgium, a mean, crapulous, frothy speculator . . .'

[3] E.g. Cawston Papers: II, Cawston to Kirk, 22nd December, 1890, ' Johnston has in my opinion created a lot of bad feeling by his map showing Katanga as part of British Central Africa . . .' IV, Kirk, 4th June, 1891, ' At the F.O., they say Johnston is the cause of all the trouble . . .' See also Hugh Marshall Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia* (London, 1926), p. 249.

as anything else, the role of Katanga in the dream of a greater British Central Africa is insufficiently adumbrated.

In the narrower history of Nyasaland, however, the Katanga question may have played a part in the decline of the British South Africa Company's interest in this region which Dr. Hanna does not notice in his book. He uses the Cawston Papers in Rhodes House, Oxford, to show that 'the hard-headed Sir John Kirk, who served as British delegate at the Brussels Conference in 1890 . . . was able to obtain acceptance of an Agreement supplementary to the Brussels Act . . . whereby a revenue duty of 5 per cent could be imposed on all imports into the free zone' (p. 224). But he does not mention the two pieces of advice which Kirk sent at the same time to Cawston of the British South Africa Company: '. . . unless you are sure of the Katanga district I don't believe the Nyassa country is worth . . . your company the money. I would far rather round off your property South of the Zambesi'; 'There is nothing in it [Nyasaland] worth having but the open right of way and the stations necessary to secure this.'[1] It appears from a perusal of volumes IV and V of the Cawston Papers that this advice did not go unheeded, for until 1895 and the Jameson Raid fiasco, Cawston was toying with the idea of tapping the resources of the eastern Congo regions by a transport route 'from Lake Tanganyika to the coast by Lake Nyasa and the Zambesi',[2] and had entered into negotiations with Belgian interests and others so that companies could be formed to make this possible. However impractical such a scheme may have been, it must certainly be included as one of the factors in the decline of the British South Africa Company's interest in Nyasaland.

But Katanga remained part of the informal frontier of Rhodesia. From 1890, when Cornet notes (p. 78) that

> les hommes de Rhodes, marchant vers le Nord, chantent
> In our country there'll be hunger,
> In the Katanga there'll be hardship!
> Raise your hoe high, my boys!
> Dig down, dig deep, my boys!

to the turn of the century and later, in a similar fashion to Canada *vis-à-vis* the United States, it exerted a northward pull. It was not accidental, then, that the American writer, E. Alexander Powell, in his book on Africa, *The Last Frontier* (London, 1913), gave as one of his illustrations (p. 214) a photograph of a wagon-team in difficulties, with the American-sounding caption: '"Katanga or bust." A pioneer trekking northward across the Rhodesian veldt in the rainy season to the gold-fields of the Congo.'

(3) *The role of the smaller, less orthodox missions.* Before 1895 in Nyasaland, there had come into being that sectarianism amongst

[1] Cawston Papers: II, Kirk, 15th November, 1890.

[2] Cawston Papers: V, Cawston to Tiano, 5th December, 1895. Cf. Alfred Sharpe, 'Central African Trade, and the Nyasaland Waterway', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, CLI, February, 1892, p. 321.

European-led missions which, however unwillingly, was to encourage the formation of African independent churches and religious groups that were to play an important part in subsequent movements of civil discontent, such as the Chilembwe Rising of 1915. Before 1914 in Northern Rhodesia, similar forces were at work which were to be partly responsible for such incidents as the imprisonment of forty Watch Tower preachers at Livingstone for preaching passive resistance against the Great War,[1] and the role of the Watch Tower movement in the 1935 Copper Belt disturbances.[2]

To the growing number of studies of the political and social aspects of independent church movements and kindred activities amongst the indigenous peoples of European colonies,[3] Mr. Gann, from a British Central African point of view, makes, within the limits of his space, a small but very useful contribution. He points out (p. 28) the arrival of a typical American sectarian mission, the Seventh Day Adventists—though a reference to M. Ellsworth Olsen's *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, D.C., 1925), pp. 500–3, would have enabled him to put some dates to it. He refers indirectly to the work of a ' typical . . . old-fashioned " damnation and hell fire " ' (bibliography, p. 196) Baptist mission (p. 34)—though a reference to J. Du Plessis' valuable *The Evangelisation of Pagan Africa* (Cape Town, 1929), pp. 310–11, or to K. S. Latourette's standard *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (London, 1943), V, p. 388, would have provided its original title, the Nyasa Industrial Mission, and the fact that this mission, like other small but influential evangelizing bodies in Rhodesia, had started in Nyasaland. Mr. Gann notes the growth of sectarianism amongst European-led missions and the encouragement which this gave to native evangelists (pp. 29–30), who often became eventually the leaders of independent African churches. To one such church, the Barotseland Ethiopian Church, he devotes a few lines, and appropriately comments that ' Consciously " African " as no indigenous organization before, potentially anti-European, the Ethiopian movement formed the precursor of later secular political organizations directed against European supremacy ' (p. 33). If such a body corresponds to one of the two types of independent churches which Sundkler has noted amongst Africans, the church which does not differ strikingly in doctrine from its European counterpart, Mr. Gann provides examples of something akin to the second type amongst Africans in Northern Rhodesia : that which often contains strongly ' prophetic ' elements and changes its doctrine as well as its control. He observes the 1909 prophet who foretold the destruction of the Kafue bridge and the expulsion of Europeans ;

[1] Raymond Leslie Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* (New York, 1928), I, p. 243.

[2] *Report of the Commission into the Disturbances on the Copper Belt* (London, 1935, Cmd. 5009), pp. 42–51.

[3] See Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London, 1956), pp. 93, 114, 198–200 for a useful recent survey and concentrated bibliography

the educated African in 1913 in Lambaland who gave himself out as Christ, and promised a new law, based on the Ten Commandments ; and he notes that ' prophesying . . . reached much larger proportions after the great social disturbances brought about by the First World War ' (pp. 187–8). When one calls to mind the neglect of such points in so many histories and studies of the Central African mission scene, one is grateful to Mr. Gann for including them, though one cannot help wishing that he had been able to develop them further.

In particular, one wishes that he could have made some mention of the entry of the Watch Tower movement into Northern Rhodesia : for, either as a direct branch of the American body or as break-away movement from this, it has clearly exercised considerable influence in Northern Rhodesia. If Mr. Gann had attempted the complicated task of tracking it to its origins, he would have found that it spread from Nyasaland into Northern Rhodesia before 1914. This in itself might have led on to another important aspect of Northern Rhodesian African independent church activities : the fact that they have often been initiated and stimulated by agencies from outside the territory. The first group of these hails from South Africa, particularly from Basutoland, as the two Basuto evangelists who touched off the Barotseland Ethiopian Church indicate.[1] The second comes from Nyasaland.

The migration of Africans from Nyasaland, with its very diversified mission pattern, could not but encourage amongst Northern Rhodesian Africans a habit of independently conducted religious meetings and doctrinal discussions, as several observers have noticed,[2] which, by reinforcing similar tendencies within the territory, often served to bring to a head forms of social discontent. There was, for example, the American Negro missionary who came into Northern Rhodesia about 1900, ' accompanied by two Nyasaland disciples as interpreters. He preached some nonsense about Africa for the Africans. He had, however, short-shrift from the police and departed to pastures new.' [3] And, from the ' Mwana Lesa ' affair of 1925 [4] to the present-day ' Alice ' movement, there have

[1] See, for example, *Journal des Missions Evangéliques* (Paris), 1899, February, p. 290, June, p. 493, August, pp. 112, 114 ; 1901, February, p. 135, March, pp. 212–14 ; November, 1903, pp. 339–40 ; 1904, March, p. 182, May, p. 335, etc. etc. ; C. W. Mackintosh, *Coillard of the Zambesi* (London, 1904), pp. 438–43.

[2] E.g. John McKendree Springer, *The Heart of Central Africa. Mineral Wealth and Missionary Opportunity* (Cincinnati, 1900) ; C. W. Mackintosh, *The New Zambesi Trail* (London, 1922), p. 356.

[3] ' Reminiscences of the late H. T. (Chiana) Harrington ', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* (Lusaka), II, iii, 1954, p. 16. It is not clear to whom this refers. But it may have been one of the Negro missionaries who was attached to John Chilembwe's Providence Industrial Mission, Mbombwe, Chiradzulu, Nyasaland : cf. *Journal of the 23rd annual session of the National Baptist Convention* (Philadelphia, 1903), p. 37, where it is clear that John Chilembwe had ' native helpers ' working in Rhodesia.

[4] Cf. Kathleen Stevens Rukavina, *Jungle Pathfinder. The Biography of Chirupula Stephenson* (London, 1951), pp. 184, 195.

been strong links between African independent church activities in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Sometimes, such Northern Rhodesian movements, having been initiated or stimulated by similar tendencies in Nyasaland or South Africa, have themselves carried their heterodox influences into fresh fields: for example, the Northern Rhodesian African Watch Tower adherents who crossed into the Ufipa district of Tanganyika in 1919 and provided the doctrinal framework for the subsequent 'trouble in the Kasanga area',[1] or the tendency of the modern 'Alice' movement to cross the borders of Northern Rhodesia. It all demonstrates the arbitrariness of the existing frontiers, political rather than cultural boundaries; and it calls to mind that other Reformation of the sixteenth century when peasant and artisan-led chiliastic movements crossed and re-crossed the frontiers of the petty states of Central Europe.

In Central Africa, some of the more colourful features of such movements, the emphasis on eschatology and the fascination of rising from the dead, may, perhaps, be traced back to the days of Livingstone himself. F. S. Arnot in his edition of the *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1899) noted that

> In the year 1883—nearly thirty years after Dr. Livingstone's visit—I . . . met an old blind minstrel in the Barotse Valley, who, failing to interest me with his songs and antics, changed his tune and began giving off a long discourse on the Last Judgement. When asked where he had heard these things, he explained that when a young man, and before losing his sight, he had travelled with Dr. Livingstone as a cook, and that this was a sermon he had often heard his old master preach (pp. 435–6).

And, commenting on Livingstone's magic lantern, Arnot remarked that

> The natives of the Upper Zambezi repeatedly told me that I could not do the things the 'Great Monare' [Livingstone] had done. 'He raised his dead relatives to life. We saw them,' they insisted, 'walking across the shadow of the sun.' (p. 437).

(4) *Photographs and illustrations.* In his edition of Livingstone's first book, Arnot added to the original illustrations by using some of Coillard's and his own photographs, a striking example of which (p. 392) is a picture of a 'Luvale medicine man. (Supposed to be a resurrected spirit).' The use of such illustrations in a pre-1914 publication serves to remind the modern reader of how much the average present-day work, with its restrictions on paper and labour, suffers from the lack of accompanying pictures, unless it has been produced under special circumstances. One feels, as one reads Dr. Hanna's book, that he would have liked several pictures to illustrate his text for he refers in a number of places (pp. 2, 41, 73, 201) to contemporary photographs. Coupland in *Kirk on the Zambesi* was more fortunate, and one of the charms of his book was the examples it provided of Kirk's skill as a photographer and of his sketches in

[1] *Report on Tanganyika, 1923* (Colonial No. 2, London, 1924), p. 22.

colour. Some indication of the range of pictorial and photographic material which can be found for Central Africa has been provided by the Nyasaland Diamond Jubilee Exhibition [1] and by the rich illustrations to the Central African Archives Oppenheimer Series.[2] But much more can be found. If British Central Africa in the pioneering days produced no photographer of the calibre of Matthew Brady of American Civil War times, yet, as Kirk's use of the camera on Livingstone's Zambezi expedition indicated, nearly a century of photography—as well as of sketch and colour drawing—lies at the disposal of the writer on central Africa.

While much of this material will obviously be found in the more standard sources of its history, such as the albums and publications of officials and missionaries of the more orthodox creeds, the range for search is infinitely wider. Two other sources are worth noting: the African as his own photographer; and the pictures taken by Americans who were visiting Central Africa from the turn of the century. The examples of the work of A. M. Chisusi, African photographer of Blantyre before 1915, and of an American who visited Nyasaland in the early 1900's, which accompany this article, may give some indication of the range of material which can be uncovered.

Of course, the photograph and the picture only reveal surfaces, and there is clearly a problem of selection and presentation in the use of such material. Nevertheless, there are significant as well as insignificant surfaces; and a greater and more sensitive use of illustrative material should enhance the value of published works on Central Africa, and might also improve the quality of research in this field in its many disciplines.

VI

A quick glance at some of the past literature of British Central Africa and a more detailed examination of three recent examples of it not only reveal a greater breadth than is sometimes imagined but also suggest a wide range of opportunities that still awaits the worker in this sphere. For the historian, a number of examples spring to mind. There are, for example, many biographies which still await an author: biographies not merely of Europeans, such as A. L. Bruce, Horace Waller, and a large number of other pioneers, missionary and secular; but also the lives of notable Africans. These include not only the biographies of chiefs against the background of modern anthropological knowledge but also the lives of 'new men' such as the late Clements Kadalic. Where, for lack of material, detailed biographies are impossible, a series of carefully-

[1] *The Story of Nyasaland told in a series of Historical Pictures* (Central African Archives, 1951).

[2] E.g. the Baines and Kirk water-colours in ed. J. P. R. Wallis, *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858–1863* (London, 1956), 2 vols.

Courtesy Mr. W. Sanderson and Edinburgh University Press

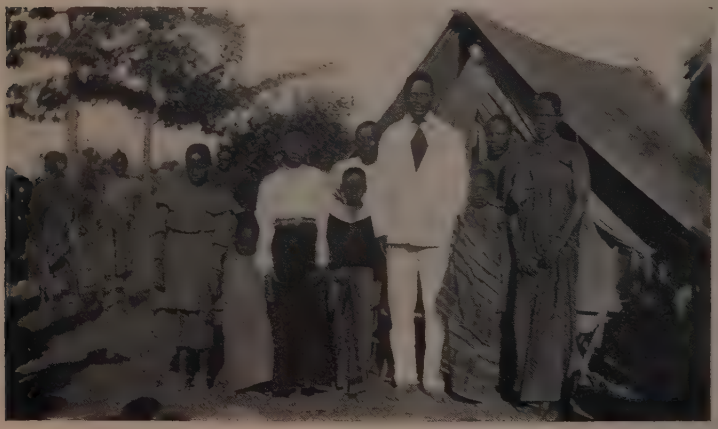
John Chilembwe of the Providence Industrial Mission, Chiradzulu, Nyasaland, baptizing. Taken by A. M. Chisusi, African photographer of Blantyre, about 1910.

Courtesy Pastor Leon R. Lawton

Elders and deacons of the African Seventh Day Baptist Church, Sanga, Nyasaland, 1912. Taken by N. O. Moore, visiting American Seventh Day Baptist.

Courtesy Mr. W. Sanderson

Mrs. Ida Z. Chilembwe, wife of the leader of the 1915 Nyasaland Native Rising. Taken about 1910 by A. M. Chisusi, African photographer of Blantyre.



Courtesy Pastor Leon R. Laxton

Andrew Mhoni (African Seventh Day Baptist) and family of Sanga, Nyasaland, in clothes from America, 1912. Taken by N. O. Moore, visiting American Seventh Day Baptist.

documented biographical sketches would be no small contribution to Central African history. And, although almost any kind of biography in this field has some value, the more critical their character the greater is likely to be their ultimate use. This means that something of the American approach, where there is 'nothing sacred', may, at times, have to be employed.

In this respect, it is surely significant that United States official documents are open to public inspection to a much later period than the British.[1] British official documents—and this includes colonial records—are not open, unless, in very rare cases, special permission is given, beyond 1902. This means that many British Central African themes which seem to be calling out for study must be severely discouraged: for example, the effects of the two World Wars on African societies; African political activities; the repercussions in other parts of Africa of African migration from Nyasaland, and its ramifications overseas into Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere; the growth of an African middle class, and kindred themes. But the difficulty of obtaining access to documents characterizes private as well as official sources. Sir Reginald Coupland, to give but one instance, was refused permission to examine Livingstone's private diary [2] for his study of *Kirk on the Zambesi* (p. 101).

Any worker in the Central African field, indeed, will meet more than once a documentary *cul-de-sac* in his investigations. This means that if he is to secure the information he needs, however imperfect that may often be, he must cast his net very widely into what may at first sight appear to be highly obscure sources, such as the ephemeral literature of the heterodox missions. As more and more such sources are tapped, a basic bibliography for British Central African studies—a major necessity—comes closer to realization.

An example of what can be done with scattered, ephemeral sources is provided by an American scholar, Rowland Tappan Berthoff in his *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953)—see pp. 215–75. His use of widely differing sources —English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish—to provide a picture of the elements of a highly important segment of the Atlantic migration is a model of its kind. For British Central Africa, Mr. Gann, indeed, has not been chary of casting his net widely: but considerations of space have required that he should keep many of his points on migration to a minimum and, of course, his area of investigation was restricted to Northern Rhodesia. Thus, the field is still wide open for studies of overseas migration to British Central Africa.

[1] Cf. here Edmund D. Cronon, *Black Moses. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1955). For the study of this important field of Negro history the author had access to the U.S. National Archives in the 1920's (p. 227, etc.) but not to British official documents.

[2] This has now been published: Wallis, *op. cit.*

One wishes that some scholar would take the plunge and try to 'do a Berthoff' for this whole region: such a work would reveal many new perspectives for future studies. Not the least of these would be the encouragement of the study of emigrants into British Central Africa from other regions than the British Isles: the Australians, the Americans, the Poles, the South Africans and others; and some clearer picture than is readily available might be obtained of the marks that they have made on these Central African frontiers. The difficulties in the way of such inquiries are great: but they are probably no greater than the study of the Atlantic migration to America.

Viewed in this way, the setting for the literature of British Central Africa, past, present and future, becomes much wider than is often supposed. It may be measured by means of two sliding-scales: one internal, the other external. The internal scale must be capable of showing how the British Central African dream has expanded and contracted, and expanded again: from the time when a few visionaries saw a great British state that should include the wealthy Katanga, growing up from the small, pioneering bases in the Nyasa regions; through the days of the isolation of Nyasaland, when, like the Scotland which had done so much to create it, its *raison d'être* seemed to be the supply of labour power and agitators, religious and secular, to its southern neighbours; on into the new times of Central African Federation. The external scale must be able to show the manner in which the over-optimistic belief abroad in the rapid cultural and commercial growth of British Central Africa has shrunk to more reasonable proportions—without having altogether lost a touch of the utopian; and, at the same time, it must not disguise the different countries overseas in which these interests have developed. In this way, the field work which produces eventually not only the scholarly but also the popular literature of British Central Africa finds its spheres of action in Blantyre, Scotland, as well as Blantyre, Nyasaland; in New York and Melbourne as well as Zomba and Lusaka; in the search for a grubby collection of letters from Nyasaland Africans to an obscure missionary in Burnley, Lancashire, as well as in the attempt to track down the refinements of a kinship-system in a group of Central African villages. There is scope for the macrocosmic approach as well as the microcosmic; and, without wishing to found a new school of Central African mysticism, and at the risk of employing yet again a much-abused phrase, one may say that, perhaps, in the last analysis, they are one. Certainly the two approaches ought to fructify one another very much more than they have done hitherto.

THE 'NORTHERN RHODESIA JOURNAL' AS AN HISTORICAL SOURCE BOOK

by

L. H. GANN

SOUTHERN RHODESIA has always idealized its White pioneers. Northern Rhodesia for long has forgotten them. From the early days onwards the region south of the Zambesi was regarded as a 'White man's country', and to some extent the descendants of the Pioneer Column which occupied Mashonaland in 1890 came to be looked upon as Southern Rhodesia *Mayflower* aristocracy. From the prestige value of being descended from one of the Pioneers there soon arose a keen interest in genealogy, which broadened out into a wider interest in local history. This interest was further stimulated by official functions commemorating European exploits in the past, by medals and awards and even by the naming of streets and schools.

Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, was originally looked upon, in Lord Milner's words, as a 'tropical colony' designed to develop on lines similar to Uganda rather than to Southern Rhodesia. It was usually only the very poor, attracted by the low price of land on the frontier of European settlement, who went north; and the settlers for long lacked both social and political influence. The governing civil service stood apart from the colonists. As long as forty years ago, the officials tended to be drawn from Oxford or Cambridge. For a source of personal prestige they did not look to Northern Rhodesia. They had no interest in building up prestige value derived from settler descent, especially as most of the early settlers belonged to social strata very different from those of a Cambridge graduate. At the same time the European colonists themselves did little towards the study of their own past. Much of the European population of Northern Rhodesia shifted about a great deal. Missionaries, railway men, civil servants, mine employees were all liable to change their domicile, and a large proportion of the settlers retired to South Africa or Britain. By 1950, however, when the *Northern Rhodesia Journal* first came into existence, this no longer held as true as before. A stable European community was emerging. At the same time there was a wider interest in the past which was beginning to acquire an aura of romance which it had previously lacked.

The *Northern Rhodesia Journal* has now come to fulfil a most useful function. Designed to record facts of Northern Rhodesian interests that will appeal to the public rather than the specialist, it has played its part in stimulating historical interest. It has recorded

reminiscences of old settlers before their stories disappear from living memory, and some of these tales are of value. Admittedly, reminiscences should never be used uncritically. With the passing of years recollections grow dim; beliefs and prejudices change. But nevertheless an old man may remember a great deal. He will, moreover, recollect what seemed important to him at the time. The very selection of his material may therefore be of as much interest to the student as the actual facts recorded. The notes and articles published by the *Journal* therefore also merit some consideration on the part of the specialist, and it is the aim of this article to provide a short guide to the historical material published during the first five years of the *Journal's* existence.

The first Europeans who permanently settled north of the Zambesi were missionaries. The Rev. Father Tanguy gives a short account of the establishment of the first White Fathers' Mission in North Eastern Rhodesia.[1] The story has been recorded in much greater detail in a work by Henri Pineau,[2] but this is difficult to obtain and Fr. Tanguy's notes are therefore of interest. The Bemba, a powerful and warlike tribe, were at first hostile to all contacts with Europeans. The White Fathers, however, succeeded in breaking down their opposition. It is interesting to note that in 1895 they secured their first foothold in the territory of Makasa, a Bemba sub-Chief, who was a son of Chitimukulu, the Bemba paramount. In the matrilineal succession system of the Bemba, Makasa had no chance of succeeding to the paramountcy, and it may have been partly for that reason that Makasa was willing to defy his overlord by permitting Europeans to enter his territory. In North-Western Rhodesia, during the same period, French Protestant missionaries had settled by agreement with the Barotse. Support on the part of the Barotse also enabled a Primitive Methodist Mission to settle among the Ila, a tribe traditionally hostile to European travellers. Reference to this early settlement may be found in a short article compiled by the Rev. J. R. Shaw.[3]

At the same time, however, Northern Rhodesia was also attracting immigrants of a very different type. Though the country had been placed under the Charter of the British South Africa Company in 1891, there was at first no effective administration north of the Zambesi. Neither were there any strong indigenous authorities in many parts of the country which were ravaged by internecine warfare. European ivory hunters and prospectors, armed with modern rifles and assisted by African ' shooting boys ', were therefore able

[1] Tanguy, Rev. Fr. Kayambi. ' The First White Father Mission in Northern Rhodesia.' Vol. II, No. 4 (1954), pp. 73–7.

Unless otherwise stated all the articles named in the footnotes appeared in the *Northern Rhodesia Journal*.

[2] Pineau, Rev. Fr. H. *Evêque—Roi des Brigands, Monseigneur Dupont (1850–1930)*. White Fathers, Quebec and Montreal, Canada (1949).

[3] Shaw, Rev. J. R. ' The First European Settlement on the Kafue and the First Copper Mine.' No. 6 (1952), pp. 49–51.

to establish considerable influence in some areas. One of the most colourful of these adventurers was ' Changa Changa ', who in 1895, set himself up as a local potentate on the confluence of the Lukash-ashi and Lunsemfwa rivers. ' Changa Changa ' married the daughter of a Chief, imposed 'taxes' on ivory and other sources of revenue, drove out Portuguese slave traders from the country under his control, and continued to be effectively in charge of his area up to about 1902.[1]

Further towards the north east, Arab invaders from the coast had established little chieftainships of their own. Their influence depended on trade, and they sold guns to the more powerful indigenous tribes, receiving ivory and slaves in return. Interesting details on the arms traffic fostered by them and other traders are given in an article by Major Tylden.[2] Tylden, a recognized expert on the subject, gives details about the kind of merchandise that was imported and makes the point that it was ultimately the Maxim gun, which — unlike the rifles —could only be handled by Europeans, that gave unchallenged military superiority to the European in Central Africa.

By 1897 this superior military strength had succeeded in pacifying both Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. Only from then onwards could Northern Rhodesia be brought under effective control. The main opponents of European influence were the Arabs and the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia who relied on imported guns, and the Ngoni who put their trust in the 'spear-crescent' tactics, originally evolved by the Zulu in Natal. Between 1897 and 1899 all these groups were effectively suppressed. T. W. Baxter in three articles that mainly present material to be found in a contemporary newspaper, the *British Central Africa Gazette*, and in official correspondence now preserved in the Central African Archives, makes a valuable contribution to this chapter of Northern Rhodesian history. It is to be hoped that more documentary material of this type will become available for publication in the future.

In North-Western Rhodesia the pattern of European penetration was somewhat different. Here the Europeans were able to deal with a relatively powerful African state, the Barotse Kingdom, which was anxious to obtain British support against the Matabele and other enemies. From 1890 a series of agreements was concluded between the Barotse and the British South Africa Company. The Barotse put themselves under British protection, giving extensive mineral concessions to the Chartered Company. Later on they were persuaded to supplement mineral grants by large scale land grants. The Barotse in the end gave away more than they had originally intended, but nevertheless they were able to maintain a privileged

[1] Brelsford, W. V. ' Harrison Clark : King of Northern Rhodesia.' Vol. II, No. 4 (1954), pp. 13–31.
[2] Tylden, Major G. ' The Gun Trade in Central and Southern Africa.' Vol. II, No. 1 (1953), pp. 43–8.

position for themselves by means of these treaties, and they were associated with British rule in a way no other tribe was through being granted a percentage of the African tax which the Company collected in North Western Rhodesia.[1] T. W. Baxter's articles on this subject are further supplemented by personal impressions on the part of J. S. Campbell of Lewanika, the Barotse paramount.[2] Lewankia was always accorded a much higher prestige by Europeans than any other Central African Chief. The British were quickly impressed by the relatively highly developed material culture of the Barotse and by the personal dignity of their aristocracy. Many officials, moreover, thought very highly of the political structure of the Barotse State in which they imagined they could detect a balanced constitution comparable to that of their own country, complete with monarchy, a House of Lords and a House of Commons which somehow had found their way into the heart of darkest Africa.

European administration was gradually made effective by the setting up of a network of administrative posts throughout the Territory as a whole, a process that was completed by about 1912. The *Northern Rhodesia Journal* contains a good deal of information illustrating life at these early outposts.[3] The officials in these lonely 'bomas' were at first largely thrown on their own resources. The country's police forces were weak and scattered, and the early administrators largely had to rely on personal prestige and common sense. There was little paper work. Communications were exceptionally poor; supervision from the centre was not strict and a District officer could still avoid filling in returns and making out reports, confining himself to writing 'trust the man on the spot' on the back of a bundle of blank return forms for transmission to his superiors. At headquarters the staff was kept down to the irreducible minimum and Kalomo, then the 'capital' of North Western Rhodesia, numbered no more than 35 Europeans in 1904.[4] Nothing could better illustrate the spirit of this early paternalistic autocracy

[1] For North-Eastern Rhodesia see Baxter, T. W. 'Slave-raiders in North Eastern Rhodesia.' No. 1 (1950), pp. 7–17; 'The Angoni Rebellion and Mpeseni.' No. 2 (1950), pp. 14–24; 'More about Mpeseni.' Vol. II, No. 6 (1955), pp. 46–52.

For North-Western Rhodesia see Baxter, T. W. 'The Barotse Concessions.' No. 3 (1951), pp. 39–49 *and* No. 4 (1951), pp. 38–45.

[2] Campbell, J. S. 'I knew Lewanika.' No. 1 (1950), pp. 18–23.

[3] See for instance

Clarke, P. G. D. 'Kasempa: 1901–1951.' Vol. II, No. 5 (1955), pp. 62–70.

Copeman, E. A. 'The violence of Kansanza.' No. 5 (1952), pp. 64–7.

Harrington, H. T. 'The Taming of North Eastern Rhodesia.' Vol. II, No. 3 (1954), pp. 3–20.

Knowles Jordan, E. 'Namwala in 1906.' Vol. II, No. 1 (1953), pp. 24–36.

Venning, J. H. 'Early days in Balovale.' Vol. II, No. 6 (1955), pp. 53–7

See also 'Memories of Abandoned Bomas'.

[4] Knowles Jordan, E. 'Early Days in Kalomo and Livingstone.' No. 4 (1951), pp. 16–23.

than a facetious jingle written by the Deputy Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia in praise of a subordinate

> On Luapula's bank by rock and pool
> Bwana Kijana exercises rule.
> Around his boma turmoil ceases not,
> Belgians intrigue and missionaries plot,
> Witch doctors brew decoctions to destroy him,
> But all these things are powerless to annoy him:
> Unmoved, undaunted, undismayed he still
> Will bend or break them to his iron will.
>
> On the Luapula is much zeal administrative.
> I should like to be a native
> On the Luapula where Harrington is ruler,
> Where the revenue is full and always growing fuller,
> Where the rubber and the vine tree grow.
> Oh I wish I was a negro,
> For the revenue is big and always growing bigger
> Oh what luck to be a nigger
> On the Luapula where Harrington is ruler.[1]

The administration in those days could do little more than enforce law and order and collect taxes. In doing so, it was dependent to a considerable extent on the skill and loyalty of native messengers. These were often drawn from aristocratic local families, and lacking arms, they, like their masters, had to rely on prestige more than force. They derived this prestige partly from their association with the Europeans, an association which was symbolized in the colour of their uniforms. W. V. Brelsford gives an interesting side light on their work.[2]

At this period the European economy was still almost as simple as the administration north of the Zambesi, one of the most important sources of income being found in the local cattle trade. The great rinderpest epidemic that swept down from north to south, and decimated the herds of Southern Rhodesia in 1896, made it essential for the Southern Rhodesian settlers to replenish their herds from regions that had not been affected too much by the outbreak. This need became even more pressing when the rinderpest epidemic was followed by outbreaks of the so-called East Coast Fever. Traders thus trekked to the North, buying cattle from cattle-owning tribes beyond the Zambesi such as the Barotse, the Ngoni and the Mambwe.[3]

At the same time a little mining began to be carried on in Northern Rhodesia, following a series of prospecting expeditions, the most important of which was led by George Grey,[4] a relative of the

[1] Harrington, H. T. *op cit.*, p. 16.
[2] Brelsford, W. V. 'The Boma Messenger and his Uniform.' Vol. II, No. 3 (1954), pp. 34–42.
[3] Rawson, O. C. 'Trekking Cattle through Northern Rhodesia in 1904.' Vol. II, No. 5 (1955), pp. 24–34; Vol. II, No. 6 (1955), pp. 33–45.
[4] Copeman, E. A. 'George Grey.' Vol. II, No. 3 (1954), pp. 23–5.

contemporary British statesman. But the decisive economic revolution only occurred after 1924 when the British Company relinquished its political administration, embarking at the same time on a new economic policy with regard to its northern mineral resources. Large areas were then made over to powerful companies engaged in large-scale prospecting and employing trained geologists, instead of the old type of prospector, who looked for African workings and relied on his knowledge of the country and of African languages rather than on a scientific training. The significance of the new prospecting ventures was not at first realized. R. Brooks, in a series of articles [1] relates how in 1924 the Governor of Northern Rhodesia told him that the Government would not base any part of its programme for the development of the country ' on the doubtful possibility of finding mineral deposits of importance'. But the Governor was wrong. The new development led to a tremendous influx of new capital which was accompanied by profound social and economic changes. One of the most important of these was concerned with transportation. Originally transport had largely depended on African carriers and later on bicycles, rickshaws and donkey carts. Ox-wagons, which played so important a part in opening up the south, could not be employed on a large scale north of the Zambesi because of the existence of extensive ' fly ' belts, with fluctuating boundaries. Between 1904 and 1909 a railway was built from the Victoria Falls to the Belgian Congo, but off the railway line communications remained entirely inadequate. The decisive change came with the introduction of the motor car. By 1927 all Government stations were supplied with motor transport, and in 1929 the Great North Road was opened for cars, linking Fort Jameson with the remainder of Northern Rhodesia rather than Nyasaland. The drivers at this time were all Europeans.[2] It is, however, interesting to observe that down in the south, in Salisbury, there were then already quite a number of African lorry drivers.[3]

Improving economic opportunities in their turn attracted new immigrants. For a short period the financial depression put an end to all development, but after about 1932 the country slowly began to recover once more. At the same time settler influence grew in the field of politics. Sir Stewart Gore-Brown describes the change that came over the country between 1935 and 1938 in this respect. When he was elected to represent Broken Hill in the Legislative

[1] Brooks, R. ' How the Rhodesian Coppers were found.' No. 1 (1950), pp. 42–8 ; No. 2 (1950), pp. 29–34 ; No. 3 (1951), pp. 32–8.

[2] Ridley, H. C. N. ' Early History of Road Transport in Northern Rhodesia.' Vol. II, No. 5 (1955), pp. 16–23.

Tapson, A. G. E. ' Transport in the Early Days at Fort Jameson.' No. 6 (1952), pp. 52–60.

[3] Central African Archives, Salisbury, File N3/20/3.

In connexion with transport in wartime see also Langham, Capt. R. W. M. ' Memories of the 1914–18 Campaign with Northern Rhodesian Forces.' Vol. II, No. 1 (1953), pp. 49–60 ; Vol. II, No. 4 (1954), pp. 79–92 ; which relates the experiences of Northern Rhodesian troops in the First World War.

Council, the settler representatives on the council felt themselves frustrated. African affairs were still regarded as falling entirely within the competence of the officials ; the revenue was small and the colonists had no part in its disposal. Three years later, however, unofficials were called for the first time to serve on the Finance Committee. In 1938 they obtained equal representation on the Legislative Council, giving them parity of votes with the 'officials', leaving the Governor with only a casting vote. Gore-Browne considers that this marked a ' milestone on the road to self-government ', as the casting vote was in fact never again used on any major issue. The second World War further contributed to the strength of the colonists who now secured representation on the Executive Council, hitherto an ' official preserve.' [1]

The *Northern Rhodesia Journal* provides three bibliographies on Northern Rhodesia, including one on its geology.[2] Unfortunately this material contains so many errors and omissions that it cannot be used without a good deal of caution. The publishers of books are not indicated, foreign names are consistently misspelled and no recognizable principle of selection appears to have been adhered to. There is consequently still a wide scope for a bibliographical work of a more expert nature which should be executed by a trained librarian.

No review of Northern Rhodesian history would be complete without reference to sport. In Rhodesia, as in all European settler countries overseas, athletics have always played an important role in social life. In the little pioneering communities that sprang up around a mine or a railway centre, there were few ways of entertaining oneself except by going to a ' sundowner ', a political meeting or a sports rally. This was true especially after the game had been shot out near the European settlements, and hunting, a favourite pastime, became a more and more expensive pursuit. Athletics was an important means of relaxation. Athletic activities also cut across differences in social or national ancestry, establishing new social bonds between immigrants thrown together from all parts of the world and making for a new social solidarity. The two articles in the *Journal* that deal respectively with the history of horse racing and of boxing in Northern Rhodesia [3] are therefore of no little interest.

[1] Gore-Browne, Sir S. ' Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia Twenty Years ago.' Vol. II, No. 4 (1954), pp. 39–45.

[2] Brelsford, W. V., and Clay, G. ' Bibliography of Northern Rhodesia.' No. 6 (1952), pp. 20–7 ; Vol. II, No. 2 (1953), pp. 28–36.
Guernsey, T. D. ' Bibliography of Northern Rhodesia : Geology.' Vol. II, No. 3 (1954), pp. 26–33.

[3] Blagus, S. A. ' Short History of Boxing in Northern Rhodesia.' No. 3 (1951), pp. 50–5.
Dean, R. W. and Ebben, D. ' A History of Horse Racing in Northern Rhodesia.' Vol. II, No. 5 (1955), pp. 39–46.

TANGANYIKA'S POPULATION PROBLEM
AN HISTORICAL EXPLANATION [1]

by

H. A. FOSBROOKE

The record of a Broadcast transmitted by the B.B.C. Third Programme on 19th September, 1956.

MANY of Africa's greatest difficulties arise from the fact that her indigenous people tend to live in the wrong places. In some areas, there is drastic overcrowding, whilst in others there is such a dearth of population that development of any kind is severely hampered; or, again, the natural resources of any one area may be greater than its people can profit from. It is obvious that the fertile areas which appeal to the African peasant are not necessarily those which attract the European industrialist and miner: so at once there occurs a labour shortage inevitably bringing all the social and economic problems of migrant labour.

But it is not of this aspect that I want to speak—rather of another equally pressing but less obvious problem; that of the maldistribution of the permanently settled peasant agriculturist. Now, this is not a simple matter of good land and bad, good rainfall and poor—not, at any rate, in East Africa. What is more, it is a situation for which the coming of the European is not entirely responsible. Modern government had certainly ended tribal warfare and famine; western science had introduced curative and preventive medicine, and this had helped to increase population. But, in fact, many tribes were rapidly increasing in the past. This led to local overcrowding which was met by movement of people having no connection with the coming of the European.

The major attraction of any particular area to a farmer in Africa—be he black or white—is, of course, adequate rainfall. But an adequate rainfall depends not only on the annual total, but also on its distribution throughout the year and its reliability from year to year. Annual averages can be, and often have been, very misleading. But there are now available excellent meteorological maps which take such factors into account.

You will find some, for example, among those published in the 1955 Report of the East African Royal Commission on Land and Population.[2] The areas of East Africa most suitable for arable

[1] The material contained in this paper was collected during my period of service as Senior Sociologist to the Tanganyika Government to which I am grateful for granting me permission to broadcast.

[2] Maps 2 and 3 annexed to *East African Royal Commission, 1953–1955 Report*, London, H.M.S.O. 1955.

farming are those where there is a good prospect of thirty inches of rainfall per annum, and these maps make it clear that the largest single area of this kind is in the region of Lake Victoria, the second largest lake in the world, whose shores are shared by Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. In consequence, as one expects, the undulating country which surrounds the lake carries a heavy population. In round figures, the Kingdom of Buganda has one and a half million inhabitants; the Nyanza Province of Kenya well over a million; whilst the Sukuma tribe of Tanganyika number nine hundred thousand. Slightly to the west, in Belgian trust territory, the two chiefdoms of Ruanda and Urundi each contain more than one and three-quarter million people.

And so, favourable environment leads to heavy population, above all, in the isolated highland blocks of Eastern Africa which have an adequate and reliable rainfall. Parts of the Kenya highlands, particularly the overcrowded Kikuyu and Kamba land units, provide one example. Further to the south, just over the Tanganyika border, similar conditions are found on the slopes of Africa's highest mountain, Kilimanjaro, where the quarter-million strong Chagga tribe profitably exploit a most favourable and attractive country. Bishop Hannington, later murdered in Buganda, described it over seventy years ago as 'the Switzerland of Africa'. In this neighbourhood there are also to be found smaller tribes making equally good use of the highlands environment of Mount Meru and the Pare and Usumbara mountain chains.

Well, so far the pattern is clear. Lake or mountain or combination of these and other factors has led to favourable rainfall conditions, and a dense population has grown up. But in the southern half of Tanganyika the position is not so easily explained, for here a large area of adequate and reliable rainfall carries a remarkably thin population. Well over a quarter of East Africa's most favourable country falls within this area,[1] which includes the coastal belt and a strip of country running south-west from Bagamoyo through the southern highlands and thence spreading west and south to the shores of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. Here one has the conditions of lakes, mountains, and consequent rainfall conducive to a population density similar to that of the Lake Victoria basin. And yet with certain localized exceptions the population, as I said, is very sparse. There is the tsetse fly, it is true, but it may well be that in this case the fly is not responsible for depopulation of the area, but rather it has penetrated into an area where depopulation from other causes has led to bush regeneration, and this, in turn, has provided a suitable habitat for the tsetse. In other words, the fly may not be a cause, but an effect, of depopulation.

[1] 'Favourable' in terms of the East African Royal Commission's description which marks in green on Map No. 3 the area which can expect to receive 30 or more inches of rainfall in 95 or more years in every 100. The Commission says, p. 254, 'We shall therefore expect to find the best scope for cultivation in the green zone. . . .'

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One need not look far, however for an alternative depopulating factor. It is to be found in the slave trade. Zanzibar, with its once notorious slave market, lies opposite the port of Bagamoyo which the suppression of the slave trade and the development of the deep-water harbour at Dar-es-Salaam have reduced from its former glory. Now, it is very significant that our southern under-populated belt commences at Bagamoyo. Also that it lies in its entirety south of the Bagamoyo–Tabora–Ujiji slave route which runs right across from the coast to Lake Tanganyika, dividing the territory into two unequal portions. In round figures, two-thirds of the eight million inhabitants of Tanganyika live north of this line in about one-third of the land area ; whilst one-third of the population lives in the remaining two-thirds lying to the south of the slave route. And this, in spite of the fact that a greater proportion of favourable agricultural country [1] lies in the southern portion of the territory. You will see from this how severe this population imbalance is, and, on the surface, how puzzling.

It is inappropriate to deal here in detail with the havoc which the slave trade caused throughout the area now called Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Mozambique. The coast contains a number of ports notorious in the annals of the slave trade: Bagamoyo, Kilwa—which Milton mentions in *Paradise Lost*—Mikindani, now replaced by Mtwara as the terminal point of the southern railway and, in Portuguese territiory to the south, Mozambique and Sofala. Inland, the Arab towns of Tabora and Ujiji—the latter famous for the meeting between Livingstone and Stanley—formed centres to which certain tribes, provided with guns by the Arabs, brought the products of their ruthless attacks on their fellow Africans.

But the suppression of the slave trade did not complete the story, for this southern area was later the scene of the rebellion against the Imperial German Government—called the Maji-Maji movement. The name itself is of interest—it is derived from the Swahili word meaning ' water'. The instigators of the movement distributed a medicine which was reputed to give immunity from bullets. After sprinkling oneself with this holy water, it was only necessary to cry out *maji! maji!!* when going into battle, and all bullets would be rendered harmless. Backed by such fanaticism, the rebels suffered heavy losses in the fighting, whilst the subsequent German reprisals on crops and cattle dealt a blow to Southern Tanganyika from which it took several decades to recover.

If what I have said provides an historical solution for one aspect of the present population problem, it immediately raises another. It is this : why did the slavers refrain from plundering the teeming population of the Lake Victoria basin? This, after all, lay much nearer to the eventual destination of the slaves—the Red Sea ports, Arabia, the Persian Gulf and, to a lesser extent, India. For it is a

[1] ' Favourable ' as defined by the Royal Commission. See footnote 1, p. 55.

well-attested fact that the Lake Victoria area and, for that matter, the highlands of Kenya and northern Tanganyika, did escape the ravages of the slave trade, at least in the period of which we have records : that is to say, the nineteenth century, when the trade was reaching its crescendo in the south. There was no important slave route anywhere to the north of the Bagamoyo–Tabora–Ujiji line I mentioned. The first Arabs to reach Uganda—and their arrival was almost contemporary with that of the early explorers Speke and Grant—did not come across the highlands of Kenya and Northern Tanganyika, the direct route. Instead they entered at the port of Bagamoyo, branched northwards off the established route at Tabora and passed to the west of Lake Victoria. In fact, you can see their passage marked today by the presence of Arabs in the small trading settlements which, in remaining inland areas north of our datum line, are almost exclusively run by Indian traders. I believe that the immunity of this area to slaving had not been sufficiently explained by historians. One view put forward is that the belt of dry country lying immediately behind the high rainfall coastal belt of Kenya and Tanganyika—an inhospitable, semi-desert country known locally as *nyika*—was a sufficient deterrent to inland penetration. It is true that this belt is more arid to the north than to the south of our line—the Bagamoyo–Ujiji route. But the hardships of this safari can be alleviated by following the banks of a river, and there are as many rivers capable of providing such routes to the north of Bagamoyo, as there are to the south. Further, not only did such routes exist, but they were extensively used by trading caravans—not slavers, but traders—usually coastal Swahili, slowly and laboriously bartering their way up-country with a supply of tawdry trade goods.

What, then, discouraged the Arabs from using these obvious northerly routes? I believe that it was the presence of warlike Hamitic and Nilo-Hamitic pastoral tribes who, in effect, formed a kind of screen from the horn of Africa to the centre of Tanganyika : in the north there were the Somali, followed by the Galla, whilst further south the Masai penetrated to a point immediately to the north of the Bagamoyo–Ujiji route. These pastoralists, redoubtable warriors, were more than a match for the Arabs who would be unable to fight their way through, and also unwilling to resort to bribery with its consequent delays, the way in which the Swahili traders succeeded in penetrating the screen.

It is, then, clear why the slavers kept south. But the historian must go on to ask why this screen of pastoralists should have existed where it did. For the answer one turns again to the meteorologist, to discover that the distribution of these pastoralists corresponds very closely to a wedge of low rainfall, extending from Abyssinia and Somaliland to the centre of Tanganyika.[1] This also focuses

[1] See particularly Map No. 2 in the Royal Commission's report which shows this wedge as having a bad prospect of receiving 20 in. of rain per annum ; the chances of failure to reach this modest figure are 30 years or more in every 100.

attention on the fact that the demands of the pastoralist and the agriculturist are largely complementary and not competitive. The farmer seeks the high rainfall areas where forest and evergreen thicket prevent grass from growing, and such areas are naturally useless to the pastoralist and his herds. And so, the common picture of the haughty Masai lording it over the plains whilst the timid peasant tribes retired to their mountain fastnesses is largely nonsense. The agriculturist went to the hills because the plains would not grow crops, whilst the pastoralist avoided the forest which yielded no grass.

I hope that this brief outline of the population pattern of Tanganyika reveals how a study of the inter-related factors of environment, demography and history can account for an otherwise inexplicable situation. It also shows how such studies can be used as a guide to future development. As a purely technical conclusion, one can immediately say that much of the overcrowded highland population, the pressure of which is causing irreparable damage to the land, could be accommodated in Southern Tanganyika. Such a solution would however be doomed to failure, as it ignores the human factors, for it would of course be impossible to transplant large numbers of tribesmen from the north to the south. But appropriate policy decisions can foster conditions which will attract population or at least counter any trend towards emigration. That is what lies behind the bold decision of the Tanganyika Government in the matter of Southern Province development.

You will remember that the main activities of the Groundnut Scheme were directed towards southern Tanganyika. A port was planned, a railway commenced, and large tracts of bush were cleared. When events made necessary a contraction in the scope of the Groundnut scheme, it was decided that the construction of the port and railway should continue, on the assumption that these communications would lead to alternative types of development. This is indeed proving to be the case, and large quantities of produce are already being handled by the railway.[1]

So it is not inevitable that these millions of acres should lie useless in a continent which so desperately needs to utilize its resources to the full. I suggest that this kind of situation is too often thought to be inevitable simply because its causes are not fully understood, and that this has been due in large part to what you might call a lack of reciprocity between those studying African problems. It should be clear, how much the meteorologist had contributed to the solution of the questions I have posed tonight. The historian, the social scientist, the demographer, the geographer and so on, cannot adequately work alone on questions of this magnitude, and the administrator needs the assistance of them all.

[1] For an up-to-date appraisal of the situation see ' The Groundnut Scheme in Retrospect ' by A. T. P. Seabrook, M.B.E., *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Nos. 47–8, 1957, pp. 89–91.

NOTES

Staff Changes

Dr. Colson and Mr. Scudder returned to America in October, 1957, after spending a year studying the Valley Tonga, the tribe whose move is necessitated by the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme. It is hoped that they will return some years hence to see how the people concerned have settled into their new environment, and to study the changes, social and technological, which have resulted from the move.

Our Librarian, Mrs. U. Stevenson, B.A. (Cantab), F.L.A., left for U.K. leave in July, 1957, and since her return has been living in Livingstone, where her husband is posted as Education Officer. It is hoped that her services will once again become available to the Institute in the near future.

Two Research Officers have recently been appointed. Mr. D. G. J. Matthews comes to us from Liverpool University where he has been on the teaching staff in the Department of Sociology and at the same time conducting research on Industrial Relations. Following a service career in the R.A.F., Mr. Matthews took his B.A. at Durham, his M.A. at California and thereafter held a fellowship at Chicago University. Before going to Liverpool, he lectured at the Royal College of Science and Technology at Glasgow and at the University College of the West Indies. Such a broad experience should be of great value in the Central African setting.

Mr. G. Clack, B.A.(Rand), B.Econ.(Natal), comes to us following a career of research and administration in South Africa, where he was latterly on the staff of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. He is at present undergoing a course of Aptitude Testing at the National Institute for Personnel Research at Johannesburg, as the application of such tests and the study of their validity in Central Africa will be one of his main tasks.

Rhodes-Livingstone Communications

For some time this series of publications has been in abeyance, as methods of reproduction alternative to roneographing were being explored. None of these proved economical, however, and in view of the present financial position in the Federation, the series is being resumed in its old form. The only change is the use of quarto instead of foolscap paper in order to make this publication easier to handle and to present a neater appearance on the library shelf. New titles in the resumed series are:

No. 7. *A Selected Bibliography of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, by R. M. S. Ng'ombe, 1957, 5*s*. 0*d*.

No. 8. *History of the Bisa Tribe of Northern Rhodesia*, by F. M. Thomas, 1958, 3*s.* 6*d.*
No. 9. *Cash Wages and Occupational Structure in the Urban Area of Blantyre–Limbe, Nyasaland*, by D. G. Bettison, 1958, 2*s.* 0*d.*
No. 10. *The African Railway Workers Union, Ndola*, by P. B. Mwewa, 1958, 1*s.* 6*d.*

With the strengthening of field staff and with results now coming in from the urban studies of the past year, Communications should appear more frequently in the future than hitherto, though many of their comments and conclusions will be only tentative, and thus subject to future adjustment. But to provide such interim reports is surely preferable to unnecessarily withholding information which may assist administrators, industrialists and others in their decision-making if published almost as quickly as information is collected.

Communications will be automatically distributed to all Trustees, Committee Members and contributing Governments and also, in the case of 'commissioned' research, to the sponsors of the work being published. There will however be many members to whom these specialized interim reports are of little value. Therefore, instead of the Communications having a wider automatic distribution than that outlined above, those members who wish to remain on the distribution list are requested to inform the Director accordingly. Some may wish to receive all issues; to assist other members who choose to write in for each number they desire, information on each issue will be published in these Notes. Notes on current Communications follow.

Communication No. 7 is an interim bibliography—though more complete than any other available—of works of interest to sociologists and social anthropologists studying the social and economic problems of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. It is based on part of the card index of the Institute library. During the course of the year it is hoped that many extensions to this bibliography will be made, partly in co-operation with the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, so that it might later be published in a printed form.

Communication No. 8 is mainly a record of oral testimony collected in the field, during the late 1930's, on Bisa history. Three maps illuminate various points in the text, migratory routes, for example. Also included is a genealogy of Bisa chiefs.

Communication No. 9 is a report on one of the factual surveys being carried out in the peri-urban area of Blantyre–Limbe in work undertaken intermittently from March to May, 1957. Its conclusion is that cash wages are highest from 'large employers': smaller cash incomes are earned from domestic service for Europeans, and employment by 'small employers', in that order. The average monthly cash wage for the total sample—which covered 12,786 employees—is £3 11*s.* 2*d.*; 62 per cent earned less than £3, 83 per

cent less than £5. It is hoped to produce later an analysis of actual wages, i.e. income in cash and kind.

Communication No. 10 is the result of a small side-study related to Dr. Epstein's urban enquiries on the Copperbelt. It is based on 76 interviews in the Ndola township : of those interviewed 60 per cent were Union members. In a brief section on administration, the important role of the shop steward is considered. In an account of membership composition—by tribe, by township, by physical age, by marital status, and by length of stay in the township—the main correlation advanced is with married workers who have stayed longest in the township.

Conference

The Institute held its 11th Conference from 14th–17th January, 1958. The proceedings have been edited by R. J. Apthorpe, and are available—together with summaries of the discussion that followed each paper—in mimeo'd form at 7*s.* 6*d.* (pp. 206) under the title *Present Interrelations in Central African Rural and Urban Life*. The conference was characterized by an interchange of ideas and information between research workers and policy-makers : this dual character is to be seen in the transactions. In the past, conference proceedings have not been made available except in a most abbreviated form with only a limited local distribution. In the future it is hoped that most, if not all, conferences will be written up and speedily made available. The proceedings of the Institute's 12th Conference, which will have an industrial sociological bias, to be held in September in Bulawayo, may be expected in November.

REVIEWS

Bantu Bureaucracy: a Study of Integration and Conflict in the Political Institutions of an East African People. By LLOYD A. FALLERS. W. Heffer & Sons for the East African Institute of Social Research (Cambridge, 1956). Pp. xiv + 283. 30*s*.

THE East African Institute for Social Research which began its work in 1950 has already acquired a considerable reputation as one of the important research institutes of Africa. It early began the publication of a series of papers to make available short reports based on the work of its officers. More recently it has sponsored a number of books which embody full-scale analyses of different East African societies. Dr. Fallers, a former director of the East African Institute, worked among the Soga of the Eastern Province of Uganda from November, 1950, to July, 1952. His book is an important contribution to the study of African local government and the problems involved when western bureaucratic institutions are introduced into a tribal society.

Bantu Bureaucracy is a study in political evolution. Traditional Soga political organization was based on institutions familiar enough from other African societies: segmentary lineages, small autonomous hereditary chieftaincies, and the patron-client relationship. In the last sixty years the basis of political organization has been steadily altered to produce a society incorporating such western features as the civil servant official and the representative council. Dr. Fallers traces the steps by which this situation has been brought about and analyses the conflicts which develop when the rights and obligations inherent in the old institutions are inconsistent with those created by the new. The African civil servant in Busoga, like his counterpart in England and elsewhere, is expected to conform to the bureaucratic ideal of disinterestedness and impartiality and his powers are confined to those pertaining to his office. At the same time the Soga civil servant is a member of a lineage and has other ties of kinship with members of the community with which he deals. He may also be involved in a series of patron-client relationships. Those associated with him in any of these fashions consider that they have a claim upon his services which may involve the powers of his office. Any action may involve him in a violation of a norm governing one of the various roles which he is called upon to play as a member of modern Busoga society.

The first five chapters of *Bantu Bureaucracy* are preliminary to the main theme of the book. In the first chapter, Dr. Fallers outlines his theoretical position which stems from the American sociologists, Parsons and Levy. The second chapter deals with the

history of Busoga. Then Dr. Fallers takes up economic, kinship, and village organization to provide a firm background for the analyses of the political problems with which the Soga and their administrators are faced. Chapters 6 to 10 are centred upon political development and include an analysis of the position of the administrative officer.

Those concerned with political development and African local government in the Central African area should find *Bantu Bureaucracy* of considerable interest. Many of the trends in this area have already proceeded to a much further stage in Busoga. Chiefs have long since become appointive civil servants and have lost their hereditary right to office. Both district and parish chiefs have been caught up into the new system and are freely transferred from one area to another. 'Chief' has become a title pertaining to certain offices in the civil servant hierarchy. Entry to these offices is through appointment and the candidates must meet stated qualifications. Promotion is based on demonstrated efficiency in carrying out the duties of office. On the whole the former chiefly lineages and the Soga commoners have accepted the new situation with little difficulty in so far as it applies to the higher political offices. Village headmen, on the other hand, have refused to accept a similar transformation. They feel that their whole position is involved in the maintenance of their personal ties with the people of their villages. This has led to a refusal to accept government salaries for the work that they are called upon to do as members of the government hierarchy, for they recognize that as paid officials they would become liable to transfer from one village to another as has happened with the chiefs. Instead they have maintained the hereditary character of their office, and this is more entrenched today than it was in the past. Nevertheless they have been incorporated into the administrative system and are the most important channel through which the administration reaches the ordinary villager. At the same time because of their close contact with their people they are under the most pressure to conform to their demands and resist unwanted changes. Much that Dr. Fallers says about the intercalary position of the village headman confirms observations already made in the Central African area upon the crucial importance of this office.

Bantu Bureaucracy despite its considerable achievements, is only a partial picture of political development in Busoga. Dr. Fallers is primarily concerned with the strains imposed by the attempt to introduce new forms of administrative organization. He does not attempt to deal with the problems in the development of a legislative branch of government to which the local administraton would be ultimately responsible. This no doubt reflects the way in which local government has actually developed in Busoga as well as in other parts of Africa, where officials defined as belonging to the local government tend to take their directive from the territorial civil service rather than from a local council. This is natural enough.

Those in charge of the change have been primarily concerned to develop efficient local administrative agents through whom planned development leading to economic and social progress can be carried out, and who can also handle the old functions of maintaining law and order and collecting taxes. They have had less reason to foster legislative bodies which by their very nature would be involved in political questions and might well query the basis of the planned development as well as the status of the Administration itself. Local councils have been instituted but they tend to be advisory bodies. Frequently they can block the introduction of new measures, but only rarely can they institute programmes of their own unless these are consonant with official policy. Such powers as they have are delegated to them by the Administration. But real local government has not been developed until political bodies with control over their servants have come into being. Until this happens the local bureaucracy is merely a branch of the territorial civil service although it may be recruited locally, be confined to service in one particular area, and have distinctive conditions of service. The large powers which the chiefs still control in Busoga is at least in part a function of their relationship to the Administrative branch whose agents they are. They are in fact the new embodiment of the district officer and like him they stand above and beyond the control of the local inhabitants. Since it is not in the power of the pepole to query the administrative organization itself, all real pressure for change in the position of the chiefs and other officials must come from above rather than below. Meantime although they cannot change the official hierarchy and powers allotted to it, the Soga seek to control the incumbents of office by playing upon kinship and various other ties to which they are susceptible by virtue of membership in the same community. In the absence of effective legislative bodies, one would expect that in Busoga as elsewhere in Africa the game of politics, the attempt to gain access to power, would consist largely in an effort to control the civil service hierarchy either through influencing appointment to office or through the establishment of claims against officials.

Another weak point in the book arises from the theoretical scheme which Dr. Fallers has embraced. He emphasizes institutions and the importance of roles. He sees conflict as primarily taking place within individuals who, because they occupy roles which are inconsistent with one another, are subject to strain. In his scheme, conflict becomes practically a synonym for personal strain. Although he recognizes that no society is so thoroughly integrated that complete consistency is achieved between the roles which the same person is called upon to play, nevertheless he sees conflict as inherently evil and disruptive. Society in his view always seeks for integration, which means that roles are brought into harmony and conflict is minimized. Thus he suggests that the strains in the present position of the Soga chiefs may be eased by the creation of an élite

sub-culture dissociated from village life and its institutions. The chiefs will be free to conform to bureaucratic norms without the conflicting pressure to conform to other obligations. If Dr. Fallers had taken a different view of society he might have seen this solution as shifting the strain from the individual to the society itself, separating chiefs from commoners and opposing one group to the other. A degree of conflict is inherent in all societies, and the conflict in roles plays its part in preventing the mobilization of clear-cut groups with divergent interests. The tough society with the greatest chance of survival through time without major internal struggles is the one in which members are knit together by a large number of different ties, where the adherent in one set of relationships is an opponent in another and the lines of battle are not easily drawn.

Dr. Faller's theoretical scheme affects his description of modern Soga society and his analysis of it in yet another fashion. He is using the concept of the ideal type. Thus his bureaucratic system to which the modern Soga official ought to conform is the ideal bureaucratic system ; the lineage system is also an ideal. But the ideal type is a concept, an analytical tool, not a description of reality. In a concrete situation the ideal bureaucracy can never be in conflict with the ideal lineage for neither of them exists. Everywhere the political process is a compromise between what ought to be done and the short-cuts which the actors have evolved for manipulating the rules. Conflicts need never be resolved in the formal organization if people have worked out an effective informal organization for accomplishing their ends. Those who live within a system are less likely to be concerned with the discrepancy between the ideal rule and the actuality than is the outsider.

Dr. Fallers has written a provocative and illuminating book. Even though they may disagree with some of his points readers will find it suggests to them new lines of study of political systems in Africa and elsewhere. For example, Dr. Fallers suggests that societies with hierarchical, centralized political systems more easily incorporate the Western type of civil service than do those based on other types of political systems. In Central Africa there are societies with widely divergent types of political organization which might be used to test this hypothesis. He also suggests that there may be ' inherent difficulties in applying the civil service conception of authority at the level of the local community'. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute has amassed a considerable body of information on village organization in various parts of the Federation. It might well attempt to use this hypothesis in its further work on problems of village organization.

E. COLSON.

Africa in Transition. Some B.B.C. talks on changing conditions in the Union and the Rhodesias. Edited by Prudence Smith. Max Reinhardt (London, 1958). Pp xi + 179. 15*s.*

THESE eighteen talks, ' neither learned articles warmed up nor

popular articles cooled down', are introduced by Lord Hailey ('Government in a Changing Africa'). They take as their field that line of countries from the Union to East Africa where 'the pressure of economic development seems to have led so many to overlook the need for dispassionate thought on the problem of race relations' (Hailey). This book chiefly intends to show how wide and how various the implications of this problem are, from many points of view.

First, there are talks by Professors Gillman ('Malnutrition in African Conditions') and Kark ('Health and Cultural Change'), who emphasize the vast and insidious extent of malnourishment and nutritional diseases that cause, not least, economic debility. The effects of malnutrition are in addition to those of such harmful indigenous medical practices as, for example, recently described for eye diseases in an area of Northern Rhodesia—which, apparently, has the highest world incidence of blindness.[1] Next, Professor Biesheuval observes ('The Abilities of Africans') *inter alia* the intellectual debility caused by malnutrition, especially the effect of malnutrition of the mother during her pregnancy and nursing period on the intelligence of her child, as well as by cultural factors.

Professor Houghton describes the extent and the inefficiency of 'Migrant Labour', labour condemned to be undifferentiated and unskilled for as long as it remains migrant, and thus to hinder particularly the development of manufacturing industries. Some aspects of urban housing are noted by Dr. Stoker ('Slums and Housing Schemes'). Some demographic factors in urbanization are described by Professor Mitchell ('The Growth of Towns, Northern Rhodesia'), before he goes on ('Labour Migration and the Tribe, Northern Rhodesia') to discuss the problem—how many able-bodied men can be taken out of a community without causing a general economic and social degeneration? Part of this problem is that in tribal societies, the costs of supporting the aged and others who are unproductive which are borne in European society by government and other organizations, can be carried only if the pattern of kinship obligations remains unbroken.

The remainder of Part One of *Africa in Transition* is more expressly social anthropological. Dr. Holleman first discusses ('Town and Tribe, Southern Rhodesia') some Shona ideas of life and death, of bases of marriage and the family, of wealth and prosperity, and then goes on to describe the social status of African women ('The Changing Roles of African Women, Southern Rhodesia') in urban as contrasted with rural society. He makes the point in this second talk that women in some traditional African societies may enjoy (like the Shona) a higher social and even legal status than European women had before winning their emancipation. African women,

[1] Dr. C. Phillips, *Blindness Survey: Chief Mumungwa's Area, Kawambwa District, Northern Rhodesia*, 1956. Photostat, R.-L.I. Library (MSS. collection), p. 18.

he notes, tend not to use Europeans or European innovations as scapegoats for their plight: they choose rather to blame their own menfolk for 'keeping them down', a characteristic of urban African women's society already noted for Northern Rhodesia by Professor Powdermaker.[1] Dr. Simons ('The Status of African Women') follows, and emphasizes that the three different legal systems in which African grievances may be adjudicated, customary tribal law, Native Courts' law, and common (sometimes Roman Dutch) law, conflict for women rather more than for men—for example, over certain inheritance rights. Next, Dr. Epstein ('Tribal Elders to Trade Unions') takes up the subject of changes in the bases of African men's status in urban society, mainly with reference to Copperbelt social history. Another aspect of urban African society concerns Professor Marwick ('The Continuance of Witchcraft Beliefs'). He explains the continuance and apparent increase in witchcraft by noting that it is this above all other traditional practices in much of Africa that can express and to some extent also reduce social stresses and strains. In comment on this talk it may be noted that a similar view of the increase of witchcraft in urban as contrasted with rural African society was noted also for Northern Rhodesia by Dr. Audrey Richards in 1935. Future study of this might well profit from Latin American experience in this sphere where it has been found necessary to distinguish between—on the one hand, beliefs in the efficacy of witchcraft when practised, and on the other hand, beliefs in the frequence of witchcraft practice.

Part One concludes with a description by Dr. Kuper ('The Indians of Natal') of many of the social changes Indians have made to meet new conditions despite the reputation they are increasingly being given (at least in Northern Rhodesia) of being as successful in business and as socially unassimilable as proverbially are the Jews.

Part Two gives us two talks (from a much longer B.B.C. series on the general theory of 'Apartheid or Integration'), one by Professor Olivier *pro* apartheid, and one by Dr. Hellman *contra*. Part Three, also brief, contains talks by Ezekiel Mphahlele on 'The African Intellectual', Dr. Coopan on 'The Indian Outlook', and Dr. Ross on 'The Coloured People', a trio of personal reflections on present social conditions in South Africa.

Despite the brevity of the talks in this book, they do not oversimplify their problems. Taken together, they excellently indicate the plight of non-European, present-day, urban Africa that leads Lord Hailey in his Introduction to fear that when Europeans resign their control in Africa they will leave behind no comparable legacy of good example to the one they left to India. Education is one subject not specifically singled out for study in this volume, but not

[1] H. Powdermaker, 'Social Change through Imagery and Values of Teenage Africans in Northern Rhodesia.' *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 56, No. 5, October, 1956, pp. 783–813. See esp. pp. 809–11.

everything can be covered in a small book : the good deal that is, is dismaying enough.

It is lastly of interest to note here that six of these eighteen talks are by research workers sometime attached to this Institute. The entry in the brief reading list provided in *Africa in Transition* for one of those research workers, Holleman, should read not Rhodes-Livingstone Paper 26, but *Shona Customary Law : With Reference to Kinship, Marriage, the Family and the Estate*, published in association with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and the Beit Trust in 1952, by O.U.P.

R. J. APTHORPE.

The Ngoni of Nyasaland. By MARGARET READ. London, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (1956). Pp. vii + 212. 35*s*.

BETWEEN 1936 and 1942 Professor Read published four papers on various aspects of Ngoni life. Their high quality made one look forward to the publication of a full report on her field inquiries, made at various times between 1935 and 1939. Here at last is a full-length study. My principal regret is that we have had to wait so long for it to appear. My regret is twofold. This book would have been of the greatest value to me personally when I began my fieldwork among the Ngoni in 1946, for it would have directed my attention to a host of topics that I overlooked and which it is probably now too late to recover. However, apart from this personal regret, it would have been easier to assess the value of the book if it had been published ten years ago.

Every ethnographer goes into the field with one set of ideas and through contact with the society he studies, he completes his field tour with his ideas changed. In the process of discussing his material with his colleagues and preparing it for publication his analytical concepts are likely to change further. If these changes of viewpoint are too radical, he is likely to find that the material recorded in his field notebooks becomes inadequate to support his analysis. An example of a book hamstrung by this hazard is, I think, Bateson's *Naven*. The longer the interval between fieldwork and publication, the greater the danger grows. Professor Read has wisely avoided this pitfall, and presents her material largely in terms of the concepts and interests prevalent in British social anthropology at the time she went into the field. Her approach may therefore seem considerably at variance with modern trends in ethnographic presentation, but surely it is better to provide a lively account of a culture as it was perceived some years ago than to attempt to analyse it from points of view that the field data were never meant to sustain.

There are about twelve Ngoni groups in Africa. Read confines her account to two of them, those under Paramount Chiefs Mbelwa and Gomani. She sets out to describe the distinctive cultural features which mark out the aristocratic Ngoni from their neigh-

bours. She distinguishes four elements in the population of both kingdoms, and concentrates her attention on two, the descendants of the Ngoni group who left Natal in the 1820's, and the descendants of those who joined them up to the time of crossing the Zambezi River. Those who claim descent from these two sources constitute a minority in both kindoms for the bulk of the population is composed of those forebears who either joined the Ngoni on their march after the crossing of the Zambezi, or who were living locally when the Ngoni arrived. These various elements in the population are in close touch with each other, and a study of a kingdom as a social system would involve investigation of them all. Read did not aim to do this. What she provides is in fact a study not of social organization but rather of the culture of a politically dominant minority. Furthermore, Read is not concerned with all aspects of the culture of this minority, but only with those parts of their culture which differentiate Ngoni aristocrats from the rest of the population.

The main sections in the book deal with the political system, clans, age-sets and domestic organization. Although her main interest is in traditional behaviour, Read's descriptions relate more often to contemporary action perceived as traditional rather than to a reconstructed past. Indeed, in her account of daily life in a royal village, she deals explicity with the contemporary scene, with particular emphasis on changes brought about by the recently introduced Native Courts and Native Authorities Ordinances.

Some of the most valuable parts of the book are the texts reproduced *in extenso*. There are several by Chibambo, who has already established his reputation as a Ngoni historian. His long account of military arrangements supplements the earlier description given by Fraser. His text on Ngoni law includes the observation that although 'at the beginning' adultery was punished by death, in later times the cuckold was permitted to lead a war-party to the village of the adulterer and could take what he wanted but could not kill anyone. This seems an unusual reversion to permitted self-help in a military kingdom, and it would be interesting to know if this change in the law of the Northern kingdom also occurred in the south. A useful text by Ishmael Mwale, Treasurer of Gomani's kingdom, describes how Gomani was converted to Christianity.

The last group of chapters in the book deals with the ancestor cult and the place of cattle in Ngoni social and religious life.

Very little has been published on Ngoni ancestor cults and probably it is now too late to make further inquiries in this field. Read's account is therefore of particular interest. She makes it plain that the ancestor cult was closely patterned on the political system, with the Paramount Chief's ancestors in a dominant position in the spirit world, the ancestors of other aristocratic leaders in an intermediate position, and the ancestors of other men scarcely worth while invoking. Although the Ngoni attitude to cattle is broadly similar to that found among the South-Eastern Bantu one difference is

indicated by Read's comments on Bambo Manga, daughter of a Paramount in the southern kingdom. On the death of her husband, this woman succeeded her mother as guardian of the dead Paramount's spirit and came to live in the village where the cattle paid as her own bride-wealth were kept. The juxtaposition of a woman and the cattle given for her would surely be rare among the forebears of the Ngoni.

Read spent part of her time in the field working among the Fort Jameson Ngoni, and some of the observations in her pre-war publications relate specifically to them. I am sorry that she did not extend the scope of her book to include them, for a discussion of differences and similarities between them and the two large Nyasaland kingdoms might have thrown considerable light on how changes in external conditions have affected the various Ngoni states. Unfortunately she scarcely mentions these Rhodesian Ngoni, and omits the Nyasaland outlier of their kingdom at Fort Manning from her map of Ngoni in Nyasaland. Now that Gulliver has begun to publish on the Ngoni of Southern Tanganyika, the time is almost ripe for a comparative study of the Ngoni Diaspora, including the Ndebele and Gazaland Ngoni.

Professor Read presents an Arcadian picture of Ngoni life. Apart from a discussion of Ngoni resistance to cattle dipping and the payment of cattle tax, there is little to suggest that in the past the Ngoni lived by terrorizing their neighbours and that in a few years' time they were actively to oppose the Administration. Her analysis seems to me essentially a presentation of Ngoni culture in its own terms. The Ngoni are a proud and self-assured people, entirely convinced that they are the salt of the earth and that their way of life is better than any other. I know well how infectious this attitude is for any ethnographer who has the good fortune to work among them. Professor Read's sympathy and high regard for the Ngoni are manifest, and I am sure that she enjoyed learning to see the world through Ngoni eyes. It is this picture which she has faithfully reproduced for us. A study of this kind reminds us that the people we study are not only units in a network of social relations but also individuals with firm convictions and high aspirations.

J. A. Barnes.

Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa. By Monica Wilson. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (London, 1957), Pp. x + 278. 35*s*.

The Nyakyusa have become anthropologically famous as a result of Professor Wilson's account of their possibly unique system of age-villages and their political processes involving the continuous bifurcation of small chiefdoms (*Good Company*, Oxford, 1952). The present book is the first of two volumes dealing with the rituals of this people. It deals exclusively with the rituals of kinship, including burial and post-mortuary events, puberty, marriage and

birth, and also with various personal misfortunes which are thought by the people to bring danger to the individual's near kinsfolk. The second volume will deal with communal ritual in which the participants are not ordered or motivated by specific considerations of kinship.

In this book ritual is defined as basically a religious phenomenon (to be distinguished from mundane ceremonial) which traditionally in Nyakyusa society had to deal with three separate elements—ancestor worship, the use of medicines containing mystical properties, and witchcraft. These three elements appeared in all the different forms of ritual described and discussed in the book. Additionally, the author demonstrates how certain symbols and symbolic behaviour recur throughout the whole range of kinship ritual with the same values always attached to them. Consequently the whole range forms a single meaningful complex, intelligible in the context of the Nyakyusa kinship system.

It may be said at once that this is a most valuable book, providing as it does an exhaustive account of the rituals of kinship for a single tribe. The field data on which the book is based were collected by Godfrey and Monica Wilson between 1934 and 1938, and the present reviewer can confirm that twenty years later the wealth of ritual and the meaning of it for the people have been much attenuated such that it would probably be impossible now to obtain a complete account of the traditional forms and values. Mrs. Wilson has therefore given us an invaluable record of a complex of practices, beliefs and values which is now fast changing and disappearing.

More than this, however, Mrs. Wilson has attempted with considerable success to divorce description from interpretation, so that first we read what happened on any particular ritual occasion and then we are given the meaning behind the overt practices. As Mrs. Wilson is well aware, it is not altogether easy, or even entirely possible perhaps, to maintain this separation throughout in practice, for the actual task of description inevitably involves an element of understanding and interpretation by the writer. Nevertheless this method is most useful and most praiseworthy. Equally necessary is the need for the interpretation, at least initially, to be that of the people concerned for ' anthropological literature is bespattered with symbolic guessing, the ethnographer's interpretation of other people's rituals ' (p. 6). Therefore great care is taken by the author to give, with lengthy documentation, what the Nyakyusa themselves say about the meaning and significance of their own ritual behaviour and how they themselves interpret the symbolism of both actions and instruments. The excellence of the field work of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson is obvious and striking in the quality of this documentation. One has no doubts of the accuracy of generalized descriptions and statements.

Nevertheless, because Mrs. Wilson is an experienced field-worker and anthropologist she rightly does continue to a further level of

analysis in an attempt to give a sociological interpretation of these particular rituals. Firstly, therefore, she deals with the participants in the activities and secondly, she gives her general conclusions on the significance of these rituals of kinship. It is here that one is inclined to feel disappointed. For the average reader of this rather specialized book the main interest will perhaps be less in the specific details of the ritual behaviour and symbolism described, but rather in the general and theoretical observations and conclusions which emerge. The study of ritual has commonly come a long way behind that of such aspects as kinship, politics and government, economics and law in modern anthropological works; and for that reason alone this present book is welcome. But the relative poverty of the analysis and interpretation of ritual activity makes one wish that more space and consideration had been given to wider theoretical issues. The last chapter, twelve pages out of some 270 in the book entitled 'The sociological analysis of the rituals of kinship', is much too brief for at least one reader, especially when it is clear that the author had read widely and thought deeply in the general field of ritual. Indeed many readers perhaps would have been prepared to accept the author's accounts of activities and indigenous interpretations with rather less documentation for the sake of obtaining fuller analytical treatment leading to a general theory of ritual. It must be said, however, that Mrs. Wilson probably consciously abjured this method because she felt strongly that the prime necessity was for a proper recording of Nyakyusa ritual behaviour and symbolism and of Nyakusa explanations of that activity.

It is, of course, an old trick of reviewers to suggest that the contents of a book would be more intelligible and useful if more information had been given to certain related topics—and it is one somewhat exasperating to authors after wrestling with their problems of presentation. Yet in this particular case it is to be regretted quite genuinely that in a book dealing so thoroughly with the rituals of kinship, there is not at the same time at least one chapter on the kinship system as such but with proper reference to that ritual. It is true that Mrs. Wilson has published an earlier paper on 'Nyakyusa Kinship' (in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, Oxford, 1951) but that is not entirely a satisfactory account and in any case it is inconvenient to have it separate from the main contents of this book. For example, it would greatly help towards a better understanding and appreciation of these rituals of kinship to have an adequate account of the Nyakyusa lineage to hand in the same book. Quite certainly one must read first that earlier paper, but even then one may well be left questioning.

In this book Mrs. Wilson adopts the documentary technique which she first used in her earlier book on the Nyakyusa, (*Good Company*), by which she includes as an appendix to the text a selection of actual field records. The idea is to simplify the main

text by reducing the amount of concrete documentation and also in the appendix to increase the amount of ethnographic description beyond what is normal in anthropological monographs. In that first book this was more thoroughly done than in the volume under review because in the latter, in the passages dealing with the people's own explanations of the ritual, there are, necessarily, lengthy quotations from informants and conversations. There is much to be said for this kind of presentation, although in general it fails to appeal to most writers. One feels that the average reader will scarcely bother to do more than glance at the appendix, whilst the keen specialist will be prepared to refer to separate accounts in the form of papers published elsewhere. Nevertheless the appendices of documentation in both of Mrs. Wilson's books only confirm one's belief in the excellence of the raw data used and set a very high standard in field recording.

All who are interested in ritual and religion will profit from this book, and those anthropologists who are less interested should read it as an object lesson. For both reasons the book can be warmly recommended. With this book and its promised successor following earlier publications by her husband and herself, Mrs. Wilson is building up an invaluable corpus of knowledge about a single tribe which will outstrip anything we have for any group in Eastern-Central Africa: and that in itself is an admirable achievement.

P. H. GULLIVER.

Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland. Vol. I, pp. 146, maps 3 (in folder at back). London. O.U.P. for the International African Institute, 1956, 32*s.* 6*d.* Vol. II by IRVINE RICHARDSON, pp. 95, map 1 (in folder at back) London. O.U.P. for the International African Institute, 1957, 25*s.*

IT has been recognized for a number of years that the northern limit of the Bantu languages lies somewhere in the region between the equator and 5 degrees north, but whether there was a clear division between Bantu and non-Bantu languages, or whether an area of mixed languages intervened, it was not possible to say with any certainty. The present volumes represent the first results of a survey carried out by the British, French and Belgian research workers during 1949–50. From it one can see clearly that in the extreme west of the area covered by the western team, that is to say in the regions of the Cameroons, the linguistic situation is extremely complex but that a belt of ' Bantoid ' languages does occur between the Bantu and the non-Bantu. Further east in French Equatorial Africa, though the position is affected by large tracts of what are assumed to be uninhabited land, Bantu gives way to non-Bantu languages more directly. In the Belgian Congo, covered by the eastern team, and also in East Africa, dealt with in a special far eastern section, the line of demarcation is again fairly clear, though enclaves of non-Bantu languages are characteristic of both regions.

In Volume I there has been summarized the demographic material for the whole survey. Information on the locality and the number of speakers is included, together with such material as could be collected on linguistic relationships with other groups. Summaries of this nature are an indispensable preliminary to any intensive study of a region, particularly where the linguistic situations are as complex as those dealt with by the western team. The appended maps form a valuable adjunct to the text.

In presenting the data of different workers within a single volume, it seems necessary to establish some form of uniformity for orthography and terminology. This it does not seem to have been possible always to achieve. For example, the western team adopts a narrow transcription for names of languages, distinguishing eight vowel sounds and effecting further distinctions by means of diacritics. Where the data is available an even closer transcription is adopted. The eastern team, by contrast, use a broad transcription, following the orthography of Professor van Bulk in his *Orthographie des noms ethniques au Congo Belge* and distinguish only 5 vowels, even though some of the languages dealt with have been noted elsewhere as having 7 or more significant vowel sounds. Finally, the far east section apparently operates with a 5 vowel system supplemented by two additional symbols for 7 vowel languages. The system is, however, employed irrespective of the actual phonetic value of the vowels concerned, a fact which may confuse those without prior knowledge of the vowel systems concerned, who cannot infer, for example, that the ' U ' of KURIA (p. 131) is ' closed ' while that of GIKUYU (p. 134) is ' open '. Such readers must refer to Volume IV where a description of symbols is given.

In classifying languages at the lower levels, the problems of uniformity in terminology presents itself. This may, in part, be due to the difficulties experienced in making any sort of a classification where, as noted by the western team, one cannot divide ' . . . " languages " into " dialects " where one is incapable of defining these terms in relation to one another . . . ' (p. 14). Thus the western team operates with language ' Groups ' and ' Languages ', with occasional use of the terms ' dialect ' and ' cluster ' (MBO, p. 22) : the eastern team however, uses the term ' language group ' at two distinct levels (pp. 85–9) as well as ' sub-group ', for the Bantu languages ; while the term ' language group ' is used for the non-Bantu languages. Finally, the far eastern section employs the classification devised by the Linguistic Advisory Committee of the International African Institute and consequently differs from both the preceding sections. Here, at least for the Bantu languages, there is no shortage of material, and one might expect that attention would be focused on the features which govern the establishment of a particular Group, or which differentiate languages within such a group. Yet such is not forthcoming and it is regretted that the opportunity for a discussion of this point has not been taken.

Linguistic analyses for the western section are presented in Volume II, which should be read in conjunction with M. Guthrie's *The Bantu languages of western equatorial Africa* (O.U.P., 1953) which the data on Bantu languages may be regarded as supplementing. The original spelling of the linguistic evidence has been modified to bring it into line with Professor Guthrie's work (*op. cit.*), and in the general layout of these languages his system is also followed. Only four of the eleven Groups listed in Volume I are here singled out for detailed treatment, with data on sound-patterns, class-system, selectors, possessives, numerals, nominal sentences and the verbal system. So far as is possible this scheme is maintained for the Bantoid language, but for non-Bantu languages shortage of data effects its own limitations. In short, the volume makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this area, and forms a foundation on which future workers may build with confidence.

In conclusion the members of the teams and their supervisors, Professors M. Gutherie and A. N. Tucker of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, are to be congratulated on their achievement. It is to be hoped that further work, particularly in the field of classification, may be stimulated by it. The survey is, however, not merely a stimulus to linguists : in their Introduction, the western team are at pains to insist that their criteria for classifying languages are purely linguistic and that no non-linguistic inferences can be made from the fact that a given language is spoken by a given number of speakers. It seems clear that the ' ethnic ' or perhaps even political unit may be wider or narrower than the linguistically defined unit, so that further research into the relationship between such units is likely to provide material of the greatest interest both to anthropologists and political scientists.

W. H. Whiteley.

Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism in Intertropical Communities. Report of the XXXth Meeting of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations, held in Lisbon, April, 1957 (Bruxelles, II Blvd de Waterloo, 1957). Pp. 679.

These Proceedings should be noted here, not least because their longest essay on a selected area is Professor Kenneth Kirkwood's *Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism in British Central Africa.* This excellent contribution, in keeping with the other twenty-eight special reports, notes conditions and policies under the headings legal and political, economic, social and cultural. Among the other contributors, Messrs. Freyre, Idenburg, Leduc and Moreira da Silva Cunha, play important parts. Messrs. Brauch (Congo Belge), Kagame (Ruwanda Urundi), Gutkind (British East Africa), Moreira (Afrique Portugaise) and Dr. Ellen Hellman (Union of South Africa), are the authors of essays on adjacent areas to Central Africa.

Although the volume ends with many pages of discussion and generalities, it is a little disppointing that nowhere in it has what

we many call a conceptual text in the sociology of pluralism, been analysed and then submitted to comparative study. The last chapter of J. S. Furnivall's *Netherland's India, a study in Plural Economy* (1939), for example, wherein the expression 'plural society' was coined, would have served admirably at least one aspect of this. Thus though this report is a miniature encyclopaedia of facts and figures on its subjects, it makes no systematic contribution to the theory of social pluralism.

R. J. Apthorpe.

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